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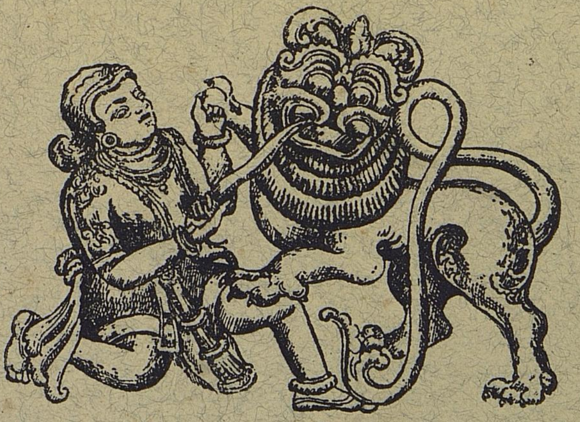

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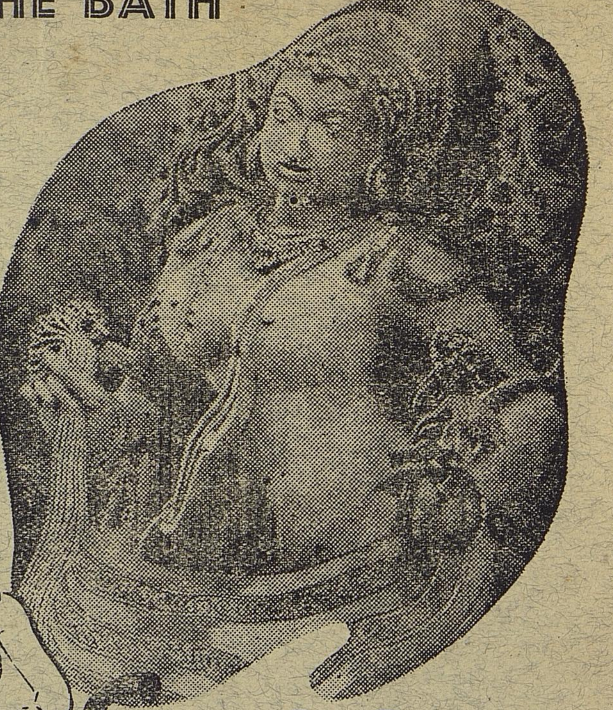

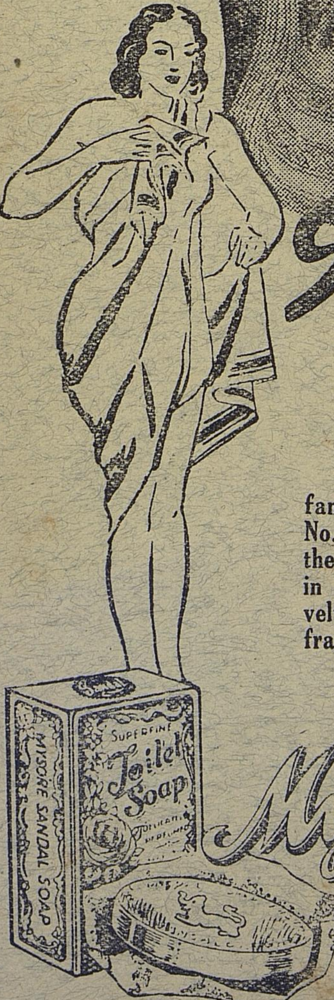

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THE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN ADVENT IN INDIA

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

I

FORTUNE has preserved to us a few illuminative fragments from an account of India written about 300 B.C. by a Greek who, attached to the Mauryan court as ambassador of the Hellenic empire of Seleucus, resided for some years in Patna and diligently studied matters Indian. For at least a century many of these fragments have lain before scholars interested in Indian history, but they have remained almost invariably neglected as their exact purport has not been understood and their significance has not been appreciated. An interpretation of a few of these fragments and an appraisement of their value to Indian history are attempted in this essay. A full discussion is necessary and has been written down almost in its entirety, but the shortage of paper from which we now suffer may lead to so much of delay in its publication that it has been considered advisable to publish a brief summary of the results in advance. The critic who differs will kindly suspend judgment till the monograph emerges in full in print.

II

The fragments show that the Greek ambassador-author, Megasthenes, was told by the Indians of his time that they believed that they had never invaded foreign countries, and that, though India was peopled by numerous races, the races were all indigenous and that the country had not been invaded at all by foreigners, except, in times long past, by Dionysos (Bacchus) from the west and, perhaps, by Herakles. The statements about Herakles, being somewhat discrepant, may be taken up for consideration on another occasion, but those about Dionysos are so clear and consistent that they may be considered immediately.

A remarkable statement of Megasthenes is that the Indians of his time denied that the Assyrian Semiramis and the Persian Cyrus had invaded India and held that from Dionysos to Alexander the Great the interval was 6451 years and 3 months. So remote was the invasion of Dionysos considered even in those days and yet so precisely is the date given that our attention stands arrested, but so definitely Greek is the name Dionysos and so insistently have we been taught that Indians have no sense for chronology and have, instead, a fascination for impossible dates that we brush the datum aside as but the weaving of cobwebs by Indians, who are adepts in the fabulous, as exemplified by the Purāṇas, or by Greeks who, having conquered India, were keen on making out that the Greek invasion of Alexander was but a repetition of an earlier achievement of the same race under Dionysos.

The details given of Dionysos have not also encouraged closer study. The tale as we have it in Megasthenes says that, when the Indians were still nomadic, Dionysos invaded the country with a considerable army and conquered the country, but finding the heat too great for himself and his men, retired to the three-peaked hill Meros, by some included in India. Turning his attention to civilising the people, he introduced ploughing, tilling and sowing and the cultivating not only of useful plants but also of the vine, he having been the first to crush grapes and discover the use of wine. He founded cities and taught the people not only to dance but even to worship the deity. Indians, having benefited by his labours, ranked him among the gods and offered

worship to him. He then marched to every part of the world, teaching the planting of the vine and the drinking of wine. While the god painted in these colours is in every detail a copy of the god known to the Greeks under that very name, or its equivalent, Bacchus, Indian tradition, so far as we have understood it, knows of no such god. Naturally, Dionysos has been treated as a purely Greek god whom the Greeks, in the exultation born of the Indian victories of Alexander, sought to fasten on India. So fantastic was the tale considered by even Greek writers of about some four centuries later than Megasthenes that they were not slow to declare that Megasthenes had credulously placed belief in a mere 'Macedonian vaunt'.

Modern scholarship, having found that some other statements of Megasthenes have been shown to be correct by discoveries made within the past half a century, is not without qualms of conscience in declining to see an Indian god in Dionysos. It is not unwilling to see a resemblance in Meros, the name of the mountain to which Dionysos retired from the heat of the Indian plains, to Meru, the name of the mountain most famous in Indian literature, but it is hesitant as myths have gathered so much round the mountain that the determination of its whereabouts has become an impossibility. There is a general willingness to recognise that when twenty centuries back Greek writers themselves were hard put to find an explanation of the Greek myth of Dionysos being born from the thigh of his father, Zeus, and were willing to seek it in the hypothesis that as the word *Meros* in Greek means 'the thigh' the tale must have risen from a jumbling up of incidents in the career of Dionysos,— his sojourn in his father's thigh (*Meros*) and his sojourn in the trans-Indian mountain *Meros*,— there should be no unceremonious brushing aside of the tale until the possibility of identifying Dionysos with an Indian god is definitely excluded. Various efforts have, therefore, been made to seek out resemblances and establish an identification,— Dionysos being equated variously to Balarāma, S'iva and Sōma. Resemblances have been found between Dionysos, propagandist of wine and protagonist of agriculture, and Balarāma, god of drunken eyes and gait and hero to whom the agricultural implement, the plough, serves for weapon. The

madness which afflicted Dionysos for a time, the bevies of Bacchantic women that accompanied him in his wanderings, the dances which he taught and the sojourn which he made on Mount Meros have suggested an identification with S'iva who, too was stricken with madness for having clipped off Brahma's fifth head, and who had a retinue of women in his wanderings as Bhikṣāṭana, is famous as Naṭarāja, the dancer *par excellence*, and is known as a denizen of the mountain. Dionysos, lord of Mount Meros and god of agriculture and wine, has also been held to be not much unlike Sōma of the mountain habitat who was not only king of vegetation but also god of the drink which was not less stimulating for its being hieratic. But, none of these could be said to have been born of his father's thigh. The resemblances have, therefore, been held to be but partial and therefore not to be relied on, for it may turn out, after all, that the un-explained feature is really the one that is decisive.

It has been recorded by Megasthenes that when Dionysos 'was leaving India he appointed......Spatembas, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bacchic matters, to be the king of the country' and that 'when Spatembas died, his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty' and that 'the son of the latter', Kradeuas, came to the throne after him. While Spatembas is a name unknown to India, Boudyas is but a transformation of the name Budha, who, we know, is son of Sōma. This identification, useful in itself as an indication of our being on the right track, is also helpful in enabling us to go a little farther. The son of Budha is called Kradeuas by Megasthenes, while the Purāṇas mention Purūravas as Budha's son. The name Purūravas being likely to have been inadequately transcribed by the Greek ambassador as Prareuas and then wrongly copied by scribes as Kradeuas, we may take it that it was Purūravas that Megasthenes mentioned as son of Boudyas. If we are right, we must take it that Megasthenes meant to say that the son of Dionysos was Budha and his grandson was Purūravas. We know according to the Purāṇas, Budha was the son, and Purūravas the grandson, of Sōma. So, the identity of Dionysos with Sōma is unimpeachable, even on this sole ground. The Greek text, however, would seem to

suggest that Budha and Purūravas were the descendants, not of Dionysos, but of Spatembas, but in view of the overwhelming testimony we have in Indian literature to their being descendants of Sōma we cannot but conclude that some slight corruption has crept into the Greek text. If we rectify the corruption, we arrive at the certainty that Dionysos, the ancestor of Boudyas and Kradeuas, is Sōma, the forebear of Budha and Purūravas.

III

Thus far did the higher criticism grope towards the light, but it hesitated to accept its own conclusions, as it found no clue to the mystery of the birth from the thigh. Were such a tale absent in Indian mythology, the critical conscience might have been content with the partial resemblances established between Dionysos and Sōma, but there is no lack of parallel tales in India. We have legends of an Aurva, a Purūravas and an Ūrvas'ī, for instance, whose names themselves speak to their being thigh-born (Sanskrit *ūru* meaning 'thigh') and we have also Niṣāda and, perhaps, Pṛthu too, who were similarly born, though their names are not tell-tale. Such stories being current, it was taken to be folly to identify Dionysos with Sōma definitely, unless it could also be shown that Sōma was Aurva or Purūravas or Niṣāda or Pṛthu or other figure of mythology who could be shown to have been thigh-born. For lack of such confirmation it is that the identification of Dionysos with Sōma has stood rejected these eighty years.

The search for one who was 'thigh-born' restricted itself in scope,—judging by results,—when it confined itself to looking for etymological clues in names incorporating the word *ūru* and to seeking mythological clues in stories of heroes like Pṛthu and Niṣāda. On its turning out that such search as there had been was ineffective, the search should not have been abandoned, especially as discoveries within the past half a century have tended to restore confidence in Megasthenes, and the range of the search should have been widened. If it is recognised that the etymological and the mythological approaches to the problem have really taken us away from S'iva, Sōma and Balarāma with whom Dionysos had clearly some features in common, to personages like Aurva and Pṛthu who had little in common, the search is bound to turn out to be more useful.

IV

The connection between the Sōma of mythology,—king and divinity,— with the Sōma of ritual,—the plant that yielded the hieratic drink of immortality,—has been so obvious that it has never been missed and so we may look for the clue in the ritual of the Sōma sacrifice.

When the Sōma plant, 'strong, rich in sap, full of force, overcoming the foe', was purchased for a sacrifice with gold, pure, lustrous, and capable of conferring immortality, it was naturally felt that one good thing had been bought with another good thing; 'the pure had been bought with the pure', and the 'bright with the bright' and 'the immortal with the immortal'. When brought into the sacrificial hall, the Sōma was welcomed with cheer,—'Come to us, a friend, bestowing good friends!' and 'Come to us as a kind and propitious one!'— the Sōma being 'connected with Varuna', and the welcome being a sign of 'atonement'. The sacrificer was made to sit in the sacrificial hall and he was identified, for the moment, with Indra; 'for he, the sacrificer, is at present Indra'. Then, 'the garment on the sacrificer's (Indra's) right thigh' was pushed back and the Sōma was laid on the thigh: the glad sight was acclaimed, 'willing (Sōma) on the willing (Indra)', that is, 'beloved on the beloved. and 'tender on the tender', that is, 'propitious on the propitious!" The Sōma was then bidden: 'Enter the right thigh of Indra'. On Sōma complying with this behest, 'now it is he (Sōma) that becomes an embryo, and therefore he is enveloped, since embryos are, as it were, enveloped both in the inner and the outer membranes'. Then, by way of symbolising the emergence of the embryo from the womb, the Sōma was taken off Indra's thigh. The sacrificer (Indra) rose, affirming that he had risen 'Up with life, fair life; up with the sap of plants; up with the force of Parjanya', and that, indeed, he had 'arisen along with the immortals', for 'he who rises after the bought Sōma rises indeed after the immortal'. The Sōma was then borne away to be put through the further stages of the sacrifice.[1]

---

1. See for instance, *Taittiriya samhita*, 1. 2. 7-8; 6. 1. 11-15; *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 3. 3. 10-2.

In the mysticism of the ritual, Sōma enters the thigh of Indra as an embryo and, after a short sojourn, emerges as Sōma again. Sōma is thus the son of Indra, the chief of the gods, and is born from his thigh,—just as Dionysos is sewn up as an embryo in the thigh of Zeus, the greatest of the Greek gods, and, after a term of gestation in the thigh is born as son to Zeus.

Sōma's similarity to Dionysos is now seen to be very close. Not only has each the mountain for habitat, has lordship over vegetation and has a bevy of women in attendance. Each is the protagonist of a drink potent in ritual. Each is also the son of the chief of the gods and each is born from the thigh of that chief. Indeed, the similarity is so close that it amounts to identity.

The advent of Dionysos into India of which Megasthenes spoke is, therefore, the advent of Sōma. That Sōma came from the West, that he came at the head of an army, that he fostered agriculture and founded cities, introduced laws and courts of justice, that he popularised the Sōma drink and that he taught the people how to worship the deity, are important features of the tale as narrated by Megasthenes, and they suggest that Sōma's advent meant, not the mere introduction of a plant that yielded an exhilarating drink, nor the propagation of a cult in which a ritual drink of the Sōma juice had an important place, but the incursion of a people from the West under the leadership of Sōma who, settling down in the country, propagated a culture incorporating a ritual in which the Sōma drink had a place and betokening a well-marked advance in material civilization. History knows only of one such incursion into India and calls it the Āryan migration. In narrating the tale of Dionysos, Megasthenes was all too unknowingly giving an account of the advent of the Āryans in India and of the Āryanisation of the country.

V

Megasthenes has also furnished us with information that helps us to fix the date of the beginning of this process. According to one version, he is reported to have said that 'from the time of Dionysos to Sandracottos (Candragupta Maurya) the Indians counted 153 kings', while, according to another, he stated that

'from the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154'. The discrepancy is too negligible to matter. The Purāṇas appear to state that the generations from Purūravas to the close of the Mahā-Bhārata Battle,—that is, to Sōmādhi,—were 93 in number [2]; adding Budha and Sōma, the two ancestors of Purūravas, the number of generations from Sōma (Dionysos) stands at 95. For the succession subsequent to the Mahā-Bhārata Battle we have to turn to the genealogies of the dynasties of the kingdom of Magadhā, for it is in Magadhā that Megasthenes gathered his materials. First came the kings of the Bṛhadratha line: from Sōmādhi's successor, S'rutaśravas, to Bṛhatkarman, the king with whose reign closes the list of the 'past' kings mentioned by the Purāṇas, the generations are five in number, and from Sēnajit, the king from whom the succession is given in the prophetic strain, the 'future' Bṛhadrathas are said to number thirty-two. After the Bṛhadrathas came the five Pradyōtas, the ten S'aiśunāgas and the nine Nandas, and with them came to a close the succession of the kings of Magadhā to the days of Alexander, or Candragupta [3]. We have thus, in the aggregate, a series of 151 kings, from Sōma,— Dionysos,— to these two emperors. The correspondence between the numbers, mentioned by Megasthenes and that worked out from the Purāṇas is so close that the inference is irresistible that Megasthenes did no more than report Indian tradition as he had heard it,— an inference that confirms his statement that the legend of Dionysos as he narrated it is what 'the men of greatest learning among the Indians tell'.

We cannot therefore but attach high value to the further data he furnishes about the period of time covered by these 153 kings. While one version says that the reigns of these kings extended to 6451 years and 3 months, another has it that the period was 6042 years interspersed with three republican periods, of the duration of the first of which nothing is known (the text being apparently lost at this point), that of the second was 300 years and that of the third was 120 years. Perhaps the most satisfactory reconciliation of these discrepancies is to assume that the version which

2. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Pp. 144-9.
3. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Pp. 67-9.

remains intact—the one mentioning 6451 years and 3 months,— is nearer the true duration. This interval has been held by a high authority to point to the year 6777 B. C. as that in which Sōma ought to be placed,— Alexander having entered the Punjab in the year 326 B. C.[4] The advent of the Āryan in India must, therefore, be taken to be assigned by Megasthenes and, therefore, by the Indian tradition of his days, to about 6777 B. C.

VI

We have it from Megasthenes that when Dionysos 'was leaving India, after having established the new order of things', he appointed, not his son Boudyas, but a companion, Spatembas, to be king of the country and that it was only after Spatembas that the succession fell to Boudyas and his descendants. Perhaps Spatembas was preferred as he was 'most conversant with Bacchic matters', but we do not know why Spatembas did not found an Indian dynasty and how Boudyas attained to the throne in spite of having been superseded by Spatembas.

Indian tradition is unaware of a personality of this name who could be counted among the companions of Sōma proficient in the principles and the practice of the Sōma ritual. Neither Vedic nor Purāṇic literature helps us to identify him. We have, therefore, no option but to essay a liberal interpretation of the story.

If, for instance, we took it that Spatembas ranked second only to Dionysos as propagator of the Sōma cult and, therefore, took the place of Dionysos when he retired from India and that Spatembas after a term of evangel in India passed on to another region, leaving India to the heirs of Dionysos,—Boudhyas and his descendants,—we are in a position to account both for the high mention made of Spatembas and for his disappearance from Indian tradition. If we took it further that the country to which Spatembas retired was Iran [5], the Iranians being the only people other than

4. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*. (1883), 14-5.

5. Perhaps it is to Bactria that Spatembas retired and it is from Bactria that the Apostle or his cult journeyed on to Iran. Ancient Indian tradition, as presented by Megasthenes, averred that Dionysos, on retiring from India, conquered Bactria, and modern scholarship is inclined to locate the origin of Zarathushtrianism in Bactria and to assign its acceptance in Iran to a later stage in the history of the faith.

Indians among whom in ancient times the Sōma cult was in vogue, it is to Spatembas that the Iranians must be deemed to have been indebted for initiation into the cult of the Sōma, especially as Sōma himself is not known to the Iranians. These assumptions would stand justified if we found a Spatembas among the founders of the Iranian religion.

The greatest of the Iranian teachers associated with the Sōma cult is Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) and he is known also as Spitama, being of the family of the Spitamas. The phonetic resemblance between the names Spitama and Spatembas is fairly close and obvious; the etymological resemblance is also equally close, both the names being derivable from allied roots which yield the meaning, 'born of a white mother', or 'born of a mother named *White*'.

The earliest and the most reliable authorities, too, on the date of Zarathushtra,—and they happen to be the Greeks and the semi-Greeks of the ancient world,—place him 5000 years before the Trojan War (*c.* 1183 B.C.), or 6000 years before Xerxes' expedition against Greece (480 B.C.), or 6000 years before the death of Plato (*c.* 348 B.C.),—that is, in the vicinity of 6500 B.C. or 6350 B.C. or 6200 B.C. If only we bear in mind that these authorities were writing about a personage who, they believed, had flourished a few thousands of years before themselves and were mentioning that distance of time in terms of round thousands of years, ignoring even round hundreds, we cannot decline to believe that the Greeks accepted the same antiquity for Zarathushtra as the Indians did for Sōma in placing him about 6777 B.C.

Looked at, therefore, from every point of view the identification of Spatembas with Zarathushtra would appear to be quite a probable one.

VII

If Sōma and Zarathushtra are to be treated as contemporaries and if Zarathushtra is to be deemed to have carried on Sōma's mission in India for some years and then retired to Iran, popularising the Sōma cult among the Iranians, and if these events occurred in the seventh millennium B.C. we have to take it that when Megasthenes narrated the legend of Dionysos and Spatembas

he was, in effect, narrating the Indian tradition of what history calls the parting of the Indo-Iranians and dating the divergence in the neighbourhood of 6777 B.C.

For about eighty years past there has been a general acceptance of a date in the vicinity of 1500 B.C. for the entry of the Āryans into India, it being maintained that it is the only date consistent with the findings of the comparative sciences of Philology, Mythology and Religion. Much earlier dates have been suggested on a variety of grounds,— just as later dates have also been advocated,— but the tendency has been to stick to 1500 B.C. The new evidence that has, however, been brought up here,— that Indian tradition of about 300 B.C. assigned the Āryan advent to a date somewhat earlier than 6777 B.C. and that Greek tradition, in regard to Zarathushtra supports the Indian tradition,—calls for a re-consideration of the problem of the date of the Indo-Iranian parting and the migration of the Āryan into India, especially as the Greek dates for Zarathushtra were apparently derived from Iran itself. Are we to brush aside the evidence, holding it as being of the character of purāṇic fiction ? Or, are we to interpret it in a manner that will bring it into congruity with the date now generally accepted ? Or, are we to accept it as correct beyond cavil ? Or, are we to treat it as an approximation to the true date ?

VIII

The data furnished by Megasthenes,— that is, by Indian tradition,— are detailed. The number of intervening generations is given and this is found to tally fairly closely with the number mentioned in the Purāṇas ; the number of intervening years is given after taking into account even the intercalary months. The aggregate duration of the reigns of the kings is said to have been arrived at on a totalling of the lengths of the individual reigns. The lengths of only two reigns are mentioned,— Sōma's fifty-two years and Budha's twenty years, and there is not the least improbability in these figures. Yet another datum mentioned by Megasthenes,— Indian tradition,— that three periods of republican rule broke the continuity of monarchical succession is of special probative value. While the Purāṇas gloss over the republican interruptions, much material has been on record establishing the existence of republican

states in the country in the period covered by the Purāṇas; here we have confirmation of the accuracy of the sources of information relied on by Megasthenes. The new piece of evidence is thus found to occur in the company of facts that appear to be worthy of credence.

This date seems also to have been practically adopted by later Indian authorities as well. The reigns of the 153 or the 154 kings from Sōma to Alexander being said to have aggregated to 6042 years,—excluding the durations of the republics,—the average length of a reign works out to thirty-nine years. So, the fifty-six kings who, according to the Purāṇas, came between the Mahā-Bhārata Battle and Alexander should have ruled 2184 years in the aggregate, and so the Mahā-Bhārata Battle should be dated about 2510 B.C. and the Kali era must have begun almost immediately. This date is in close accord with the date 2449 B.C. given for the Mahā-Bhārata Battle by Varāhamihira, the great Indian astronomer who flourished in 587 A.D: the small difference of sixty-one years is perhaps due to our calculations being based on averages. The ninety-five kings of the pre-Mahā-Bhārata Battle period should have reigned 3705 years,—at thirty-nine years to a reign,—and the earliest of the kings,—Sōma,—should be assumed to have been on the throne by 6215 B.C. if we did not know of the intervention of republican interludes. And if we make allowance for the duration of the republics we find that the date given for Sōma by Megasthenes,— 6777 B. C.— is not far wide of the mark.

This date is, however, so opposed to the conclusions of modern scholarship that it becomes necessary for us to canvass the probability of its having been fabricated on the basis, not of succession lists of kings preserved carefully over sixty centuries, but of chronological speculations indulged in a few decades,—or, a few centuries,—before Megasthenes.

The average length of thirty-nine years to a reign which we have arrived at on the testimony of Megasthenes is a very unsatisfactory feature of the evidence, for averages for a number of dynasties do not yield so phenomenally high a figure. If we assume that count was kept in ancient India of only half-years,— *Uttarāyaṇa* and

Dakṣiṇāyaṇa being each counted a year[6],— the average reign of a king would be thirty-nine half-years or nineteen and a half full years,—a length that is quite acceptable. If, therefore, we assume that tradition spoke in terms of half-years in setting down the interval between Sōma and Alexander at 6451 years, the real interval must be taken to have been 3225 full years. This would place the advent of the Āryan in the neighbourhood of 3550 B.C. But, even as thus reduced, this date is two millennia earlier than the 1500 B.C. favoured by modern scholars.

The origin of the early Indian era known after the *Sapta-Ṛṣis* is rather complex. Considerably simplified to enable the salient features to be apprehended, it may be said that its framework consists in the assumptions that the *Sapta-Ṛṣis* stay a century in each lunar mansion and so go through the cycle of the twenty-seven mansions in a cycle of 2700 years, and that when the Mahā-Bhārata Battle occurred in 3102 B.C. the *Sapta-Ṛṣis* were in the mansion Maghā and had spent seventy-five years in it.[7] As the cycle of the lunar mansions is taken to begin with As'vini, while Maghā is the tenth mansion, the Seven Ṛṣis must have spent 975 years in that cycle, travelling from the initial year in As'vini to the seventy-fifth year in Maghā, by the time the Mahā-Bhārata Battle started ; so, the cycle in which the Battle was fought, must have started 975 years before 3102 B.C.—that is, in 4077 B.C. If we roll time back by yet another cycle of the *Sapta-Ṛṣis*,— that is, by the cycle of 2700 years,— we get to the year 6777 B.C.— just the year to which Sōma has been assigned by Indian tradition. So, it has been hinted at that perhaps the date 6777 B.C. had been arrived at by calculating backward from a date already accepted,— the initial date of the *Sapta-Ṛṣis*.[8] The suggestion is very ingenious but fails to account for the crucial circumstance that Sōma has to be taken one cycle earlier than 4077 B.C. Why should he be so taken back ? And, if he has to be pushed back, why should it be only by one cycle ? Rather, it may be more

6. Suggested by Dr. R. Shama-Sastri in a kind letter to the writer dated Feb. 7, 1943.

7. The simplification amounts almost to distortion.

8. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras* (1883), Pp. 4-15.

appropriate to assume that the year 6777 B.C. had been arrived at by the days of Megasthenes on material not available to us and that the date of the Mahā-Bhārata Battle was worked out from that date as the datum and expressed in terms of the *Sapta-Ṛṣis* cycle. The traditional date for Sōma appears, therefore, to be altogether anterior to and independent of the origin of the *Sapta-Ṛṣis* era, whatever it may be.

IX

The early date adopted here for Zarathushtra has been called into question by modern scholarship, it being argued that it is fantastically early and that Iranian tradition assigns to Zarathushtra a very late date, making him flourish from 660 to 583 B.C. according to one view, and from 570 to 483 B.C. according to another.

What is now accepted as Iranian tradition is, however, of very little value on this head, as it forms the very latest of the various sources of information available to us and the breaks in the history of the Iranians have been too many and too cataclysmic to justify our attaching much value to it. It is to the earlier authorities, therefore, that we have to look for guidance.

The followers of Pythagoras (510 B.C.) believed that their master was a student of Zarathushtrianism, though they occasionally expressed themselves in a form which suggests that Pythagoras sat at the feet of Zarathushtra. We have, therefore, reason to hold that pupil and preceptor, instead of being contemporaries, were in fact separated by centuries. Ctesias of Cnidus (399 B.C.) is believed to have recorded that Zarathushtra was contemporary with Ninus of Assyria and his famous consort Semiramis, who, though now assigned by historians to about 800 B.C. were, in those times believed to belong to a much earlier period. Those who followed Berosus, the Babylonian chronicler (*c.* 250 B.C.), assigned Zarathushtra to a few generations,— six, seven or ten,— after the Flood, which has been variously placed in 2349 B.C. and in 3185 B.C. and about 40,000 B.C. These three sources of information, point to a date for Zarathushtra much earlier than that spoken to by the Iranian tradition now in acceptance, though they fail to agree on any date.

Aristotle (384-22 B.C.), the great pupil of Plato (428-348 B.C.), and Eudoxus (368 B.C.), a dissident from the Platonic school, agreed in placing Zarathushtra 6000 years before Xerxes's expedition against Greece (480 B.C.). These dates, though variously expressed and working to dates ranging from 6183 B.C. to 6480 B.C. are still indicative as already shown, of a common tradition, speaking to a date in the seventh millennium B.C.

Doubts have been cast on these statements on such grounds as that variant readings occur in early manuscripts of the works relied on, but such reasons are too weak to prevail against the unanimity of a number of authorities, one of whom is a predecessor of Plato and another is a rebel against Plato and others are Platonists. Xanthus, Aristotle and Eudoxus are unquestionably more reliable than the Pythagoreans who could not express themselves with a clarity which would exclude the inference that generations lay between Zarathushtra and Pythagoras, and infinitely more reliable than Ctesias of Cnidus whose reputation for accuracy is poor and the followers of Berosus who inherited a scheme that in many places converted chronology into fiction. Xanthus, Aristotle and Eudoxus are earlier than all the authorities differing from them, except Ctesias of Cnidus.

Xanthus had been in close contact with the Iranians, at least because his country, Lydia, had been conquered and occupied in his time by Cyrus the Persian, and Aristotle and Eudoxus had had their shares of the Pythagorean heritage which, in its turn, confessed to having fattened on the Zarathushtrian substance. It is probable, therefore, that these three authorities did no more than reproduce the tradition current among the Iranians in their time,— and this tradition gives the seventh millennium B. C.

The suggestion, however, has been made that this tradition of the Iranians that Zarathushtra belonged, to the seventh *millennium* B.C. is based on a misconception of what is meant by the birth of the prophet. The Iranians, believied, in cycles of 12,000 years each, and divided each cycle into four quarters each of which is of the length of a trimillennium. The latest cycle was believed to have started in 9630 B.C. The first trimillennium of this cycle covered

the transcendental period of creation when the Fravashis ('primary ideas') were formed, the creatures remaining in a condition purely spiritual, but with bodies intangible, unmoving and unthinking. In the second trimillennium the creatures remained undisturbed by evil, animals being represented by the primeval Ox, and mankind by Gayomard in the world and by the spiritual form of Zarathushtra in heaven, where his spiritual body had been framed together at the very beginning of this trimillennium (6630 B.C.). It was at the beginning of the fourth trimillennium (630 B.C.) that Zarathushtra was born in the faith.[9] So, it has been argued that the framing of the spiritual body of Zarathushtra in 6630 B.C. had been wrongly taken as the true date of Zarathushtra's birth by Greek authorites like Xanthus, Aristotle and Eudoxus,— perhaps because the Iranians themselves had by then identified the birth in the faith with the birth as Fravashi. For this contention to be correct, we must assume not only that between 553 B.C. the date of Zarathushtra's death, and 500-450 B.C. the date of Xanthus, the Iranians had realised that in the interests of Zarathushtrianism it was necessary to translate Zarathushtra to a very great antiquity and so pushed him a couple of trimillennia back, but also that Xanthus, in spite of the closeness of the contact between Lydia and Iran in his days, was ignorant of the preposterous ante-dating of a personality who had lived just a half or a three-quarters of a century before him. Similarly, it has also to be assumed that Aristotle and Eudoxus had not heard that Zarathushtra was but two centuries earlier, nor that the claim to great antiquity advanced on his behalf was but recent. None of these authorities was half so gullible as these assumptions would force us to conclude.

The suspicion has even been voiced that the date of Zarathushtra might have been brought down by the Iranians themselves as a device for escaping from a *cul-de-sac* into which they had unfortunately worked themselves in the course of the generations. The Zoroastrians had obviously at some stage in their history come to believe that the last great battle of the demon

9. *Dinkard* 7. 2. 14-6; *Bundahish*, 1. 1-20; 34. 1; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, 5. (40-2); Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, P. 403.

races would be fought at the end of Zarathushtra's millennium and the wicked would be so destroyed that none would survive into the next millennium, which would open with a new apostle of the faith. Though generations passed by, neither the battle nor the apostle materialized and the wicked remained unextinguished. Though the faithful continued in hope, a stage must have been reached when it became necessary to adjourn the arrival of the day of deliverance and to find an adequate reason for the adjournment. So, the date of Zarathushtra might have been immediately discovered to be later than had been originally believed and it might have been fixed in the vicinity of 630 B.C. in the pious hope that the time so gained would be enough to permit of the battle and the apostle happening ultimately. It has been frankly admitted that this is a crucial point on which depends the reliability of the date assigned to Zarathushtra.[10]

It is, therefore, highly probable that a tradition ascribing Zarathushtra to 6630 B.C. was ancient by the time of Xanthus and that centuries later, when the Iranians were broken up and Iranian tradition had lost its bearings, or had deliberately to cut away from the ancient belief a period of a couple of trimillennia was subtracted and the date of birth fixed at 630 B.C.

X

We have seen that neither the Indian date for the Āryan migration into India under Sōma and the divarication that led the Iranians to the west under Spatembas nor the early Iranian date for the prophet Zarathushtra (Spatembas) could be shown to have been worked up to by the intercalation of long terms of years borrowed from systems of mythological or astronomical chronology. The agreement between the two dates is so surprisingly close as to call for an explanation on a basis other than that of accident.

While Indian tradition gives us a glimpse of the Indo-Iranian parting and of the introduction of the Sōma cult into India by Sōma and into Iran by Zarathushtra, Iranian tradition has preserved only the date of Zarathushtra. The reports of the Iranian tradition being contained in fragments of the ancient Greek authorities,

10. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, P. 172.

it may not be fair to it to assume that it was indifferent to the whole of the story. The Indian tradition was obviously based on a thorough apprehension of the facts,— the original kinship of the Indian and the Iranian peoples, the original identity of the Indian and the Iranian faiths, the divarication that split the Indo-Iranian people into two branches and the length of time required for the divarication to grow into a gaping division. A tradition so admirable in its scope could not but have been founded on an acquaintance with Iranian tradition, at least in regard to the antiquity of Zarathushtra,— an acquaintance which should have been based on contact both frequent and close. Those of the Sōma ritual were immediate neighbours to those of the Haoma ritual and the intercourse between them should have been marked by numerous instances of the kind narrated by Ammianus Marcellinus (330-91 A.D.), according to whom, Hystaspes, 'the wise king and the father of Darius' (521-485 B.C.) 'while boldly exploring the hidden solitudes of upper India came to a lonely wood of whose peace and stillness the Brāhmans, pronouncedly inclined to contemplation as they were, were taking advantage', and here, 'by them he was tutored in the laws governing the movements of the Universe, and the constellations, as well as in the pure and undefiled ceremonies of divine worship', and 'some of the things' which Hystaspes learned from them 'he combined with the doctrines of the Magians'. The substantial identity which the Iranian date for Zarathushtra bore to the Indian date for Sōma must have given the Indian tradition the authority which we sense in the words of Megasthenes.

If the Indian tradition of a succession of 153 kings from Sōma to Candragupta and an interval of 6451 years testifies, as we have seen, to an acceptance, in the days of Megasthenes, of a date in the neighbourhood of 2510 B.C. for the Māha-Bhārata Battle, a chronological frame-work for Indian history must have been drawn up long before 300 B.C. by Indian scholars. Chronological speculations must have been much older in India than Megasthenes, and Indian astronomy must have been centuries earlier than Āryabhatta (476 A.D.) who stands now acclaimed 'its real founder'. Indeed, Megasthenes himself is found stating, in a fragment all too neglected, that

'about the time of the construction of the Tower (of Babel) a certain Indian of the race of Arphaxad made his appearance, a wise man and an astronomer, whose name was Andubarius' and that 'it was he who first instructed the Indians in the science of Astronomy'.[11] The Iranian tradition, assigning to Zarathushtra the same antiquity as Indian tradition ascribes to Sōma, is also as early at least as Xanthus (500, 450 B.C.). We appear, therefore, to have adequate warrant for ascribing the origin of the Indian tradition of Indo-Iranian parting and the origin of the Indian and the Iranian traditions of the dates of Sōma and Zarathushtra to a date earlier than the fifth century B.C.

XI

How was it that Indian and Iranian traditions claimed so high an antiquity as the seventh millennium B. C. while the second millennium B. C. is favoured by modern scholarship? To suggest that the ancient claim was the result of ignorance or uncontrolled speculation or chauvinism is to insult the integrity and the acumen of those who had, some twenty-four centuries before Max Müller and his compeers, discovered for themselves that a fraction of their countrymen, the Āryans, might be claimed to be not autochthons,—and admitted it in an age when obviously chauvinism had a partiality for the autochthon,—that they had come from the west with the Sōma cult to what was not then accepted to be India and propagated their culture in the land, that they were but cousins to the Iranians and that the Iranian religion in its beginnings, under Zarathushtra, was identical with the Āryan religion as it took root in India. The Indian and the Iranian traditions appear, therefore, to deserve at least as much consideration as the speculations of modern scholars who have merely rediscovered what the two traditions had affirmed ages earlier.

The case for a much earlier date for the Āryan migration into India than the second millennium B.C. has been pressed on astronomical grounds by Tilak and Jacobi, and on other grounds, mainly philological, by a number of European scholars. The evidence for Āryan influence in the Harappa culture of about

11. *Cory's Ancient Fragments*, third edition, by Hodges (1876). P. 36.

2800 B.C. is gathering in volume.[12] The data all too familiar to us these few decades, mainly philological, may therefore repay re-examination and revaluation in the light of the two traditions to which attention has now been drawn.

It is not unfair to complain that modern scholarship has allowed Comparative Philology the last say on the problem of the antiquity of the Āryan migration into India. Other considerations have been lost sight of in consequence. Two examples of other points of view may be cited by way of illustration.

It has been recognised that every iota of the 'canon of Vedic scripture had been settled before the time of Cyrus' (558-29 B.C.),[13] and that 'already at the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas (between 800 and 600 B.C. according even to modern scholarship), 'the three principal Vedas were believed to have proceeded directly from the mouth of Prājapati'[14],— the scriptural canon having been fixed unalterably much earlier. And yet it is stoutly maintained that a period of about 800 years would be enough for all that happened in the meanwhile,— for the Āryans producing an enormous hymnal literature, to allow it to be neglected and forgotten, to gather together the surviving fragments and reduce them to a canon, recasting them also into two allied canon and investing even their verbal integrity with a sanctity not ascribed to any scripture in the world.

Dionysos was assigned by the Greeks variously to Thrace, Phrygia and Lydia and to the *Zagros* mountain, just as it pleased them, and to a Nysia which they could never locate and to a Meru which neither they nor the Indians could allot to any one region, having taken it that it was from one or other of these regions that in the course of his wanderings he had reached Greece about the time of Homer. He was known to them in an Indian form,— the Indian Bacchus of Greek sculpture, manly but soft, bearded and dignified,— but he was not traced to India as it

12. See my book, *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture*, (1942), which contains an evaluation of significant evidence. Compare for instance, S. S'rikanṭha-S'astri's *Proto-Indic Religion* (1942).

13. Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, 1. (51).

14. Haug, *Aitareya Brahmana*, P. 48.

was assumed that the form was a creation of the post-Alexander period, the followers of that conqueror having woven a fanciful tale of Dionysos having been born on the Meru, the mountain of Indian myth. But, the name of the mother of Dionysos is Semele according to the Greek legend and the name is exceedingly close to that of Simalia, 'queen of the snow mountains', known to us from one of the Kassite tablets of the time of Nebukadnezar I (*c.* 1130 B.C.).[15] The name Simalia itself 'can hardly be separated from the name of the great mountain range Himālayā and the Iranian word for snow, *zima*'.[16], goddess, Himālayā 'she who dwells in the snow, or 'she who dwells in the snow mountain',—might have been known to ancient India. The Himālayā mountains,—rather, so much of the range as lies near the route to India, might at a very early date have become associated, in the Indian mind, with Mount Meru,—perhaps when the confines of India had not started narrowing and the peoples at the edges had not gained in distinctiveness nor attained individuality. It is not surprising, if regions far off from what is now known as India were in early times considered to be parts of India and if people now deemed to be foreigners were then accepted as Indians. If we follow the implications of the Indian tradition, reported by Megasthenes, that Dionysos retired to Mount Meru after his evangel in India and then conquered Bactria, and that the mount was included in the Himālayās,—bearing in mind that the mount has been variously located by Indian tradition,—if the tradition current about Merv (in Turkistan) which identifies it with Mount Meru goes back to primitive times and if the Meru to which Dionysos retired is Merv, we are in a position to understand how India should have been believed to have started from Merv in the earliest times, how the Āryans, and perhaps the other peoples also, who then inhabited the country starting from Merv were treated as Indians, how as the margins of trans-Punjab India contracted there arose doubts as to whether the Āryans beyond were Indians, how even in the time of Megasthenes the Indians were not prepared to decide that the Āryans were not antocthonous in India, how the Vedic hymns

15. Mironov, in *Acta Orientalia*, (1933), 11 : P. 143.
16. Giles, in *Cambridge History of India*, 1 : P. 176.

might in part have been composed in trans-Indian regions such as those of the primitive river Sarasvatī, how Mount Meru could be claimed by some to be in India and by others to be beyond, and how it could have come to be associated,— if not identified,— with the north-western spurs of the Himālayās. It is now possible to trace in some measure the stages through which Sōma the son of Himālayā shaded off into one personality after another till ultimately he emerged as Dionysos the son of Semele. The earliest stage should be one in which the Sanskrit name *Himālayā* had arisen and been applied to a mountain, a goddess Himālayā had become popular, the mountain Meru had been associated in some form with the Himālayās, and Sōma was taken to be born prematurely of his mother Himālayā and bred for a while in Indra's thigh. The next stage should be one in which the legend travelled to the region round about the Zagros mountains— dragging Nysia along in its train,— where Sōma was taken, some time perhaps before 1130 B.C. to have been born as son to the goddess known to the Kassites Simalia, *ne'e* Himālaya. In the third stage the legend should have travelled through Lydia and Phrygia, where his mother Simalia came to be identified with the Phrygian Earth-goddess known by the name Zemelo,— and on to Thrace and Thebes where Sōma became the son of Semele, daughter of king Cadmus. The next stage, perhaps, should be that in which the legend took its hero to Athens, Argos and Egypt, and came to be known to Homer and Hesiod. Yet another stage was passed through, in the period of Macedonian 'vaunt', in which the legend got transformed and India came to be considered, not the starting point, but the *ultima thule* of the wanderings of Dionysus. If reconstruction of the course of the legend attempted here has in it the elements of probability,— as, indeed, it appears to have,— the legend must have originated long before Homer and Nebukadnezar I and appreciably before the second millennium B.C. A much greater antiquity has, therefore, to be postulated for the period of the fusion of Indians and Iranians.

The date accepted by both the Indian and Iranian tradition for the Indo-Iranian divarication deserves closer consideration than has been vouchsafed to any suggestion for assigning the event to a date

earlier than about 1500 B.C.[17] A few of the Purāṇas may lay down the number of generations from Sōma down to the Mahā-Bhārata Battle at ninety-five and a few others may fix the number at almost a half, but these differences do not really matter, for they attest only to the very natural inability of the compilers of the Purāṇas, who were at work perhaps when the Christian era had just dawned, to put together such lists as they had into a cogent and consistent system. The estimate of the length of time covered by the successive dynasties and kings, as accepted by the Indian tradition of 300 B.C. preserved by Megasthenes, is, on the other hand, valuable and important, for the sources of information are naturally likely to have then been more reliable and more easily susceptible of reconciliation. The king-lists might have got into disorder, and yet the aggregate length of time covered by them need not have been affected.

XII

The results of this enquiry may now be summed up. Megasthenes has narrated a legend which is, in truth, the tradition of both the Indian and the Iranian peoples in regard to the parting of the Indo-Iranian peoples about 6777 B.C.; the Āryanisation of India and Iran under Sōma and Zarathushtra respectively, and the duration of the dynasties of Indian kings in the line of Sōma. This tradition has been lost in Iran and India, but it is so completely in consonance with other Indian tradition that there can be no doubt but that it was fully accepted in India. The Indians of the days of Megasthenes are thus found to have had a thorough knowledge of the racial affinities of the Indian and the Iranian branches of the Āryans and of the identity of the beliefs and the ritual of the two branches when they were parting from one another,—a knowledge which, having been lost among the learned in India for centuries, was rediscovered about a century back by the learned of the West. Indians appear also to have speculated by 300 B.C. if not at least two centuries earlier, about the chronology of not only the dynasties

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17. Mm. Dr. R. Shama-Sastri, who perused this paper in manuscript, had been good enough to write, on Aug. 3, 1943, to the writer to say that he accepts the validity of much of what is said here, including the date, having revised the view he had advocated till then that the advent happened about 3102 B.C.

that rose among them but also the most cataclysmic event in their history, the Mahā-Bhārata Battle, and even of their own incursion into the land, wondering further if any of them were foreign in origin. The Iranians too having had originally a tradition which placed Zarathushtra in the same period as Sōma, the two traditions corroborate each other. And as both the traditions appear to have arisen before the fifth century B.C. the date for Sōma and Zarathushtra spoken to by them deserves careful consideration, notwithstanding that the view now accepted declines to go earlier than 1500 B.C. or 1000 B.C. The suggestion made sometimes that every people's natural predilection for ascribing a high antiquity to itself is responsible for the Iranians and the Indians setting back the origins of their history to the seventh millennium B.C. is found to be without basis: it looks probable even that at one stage the Iranians themselves brought Zarathushtra down in time. Other evidence also,—such as is furnished by references in Vedic literature to astronomical phenomena and events and by the history of Dionysos who appears to have started on the confines of India as Soma, son to Indra and Himālayā, and halted in Grece, after considerable wandering not only in space but also in time, as son to Zeus and Semele,— suggests that the true date of Sōma and Zarathushtra lies much beyond the date to which the prevailing tendency is to cling and fairly close to what the Indian and the Iranian traditions had united in affirming. A tradition which is earlier than the fifth century B.C. and had a currency in two cultures which in the course of the centuries have drifted apart in spirit canet be ignored by modern scholarship.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL KARNĀṬAKA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

BY DR. A. P. KARMARKAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

KARNĀṬAKA has had a long and glorious past. During the medieval period of more than one thousand years it has enjoyed a unique and solemn glory under the rulership of the powerful dynasties of the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and others. Its history reaches almost the precincts of the Mohenjo Daro civilization in the past; and with an almost evergrowing tendency it has maintained a noble outlook for the centuries to come in all the branches of culture till the close of the Vijayanagara period. During this vast period, it has reared three of the best schools of philosophy, namely, those of S'aṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva. The tenet of Basava again has shown the most wonderful reformist inclinations in the field of religion and philosophy. During this period also Karnāṭaka has created a unique position for itself in the history of the world by fostering masterly traditions in the field of polity, socio-economic organization and education, art and architecture, and all the other branches of culture.

The most ancient name of this land is Kaṇṇanir obtaining in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions[1]. In view of this, the entire history of Karnāṭaka can be divided into four periods: (1) Proto-Indian period; (2) Ancient Indian period; (3) Medieval period; and finally, (4) Modern period. We are mainly concerned here with the first three periods only.

During the first period, *i.e.* the Proto-Indian period, the main tribes that had occupied this territory seem to have been the Kaṇṇanirs, the Nāgas, the Ābhīras, the Māhiṣikas, and the Mīnas respectively. All these tribes seem to have derived their respective designations from their heraldic devices or lāñchanas, which they also held as sacred. The modern Kannaḍigas are the descendants

1. H. Heras, 'Karnāṭaka and Mohenjo Daro', *Karnāṭaka Historical Review* Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 2-3.

of the Kaṇṇanirs, who were equally learned and heroic like the people of the other tribes. In regard to the Mīnas or the later Matsyas, Kumāravyāsa, the famous author of the Kannaḍa Bhārata depicts a tradition that the Mīnas were located to the south of the Godāvarī river. A similar tradition is maintained to the effect that they were dwelling at Hangal (Dharwar District). The Nāgas and the Ābhiras were evidently the early settlers in this province as the designation Nāgarakhaṇḍa, and the early references to the Ābhiras indicate it. The Māhiṣikas seem to have at one time occupied a very vast territory from Māhiṣmati, the modern Māndhāta on the banks of the Narmadā river down to the province of Mysore. The Tāmil records designate Mysore as Erumaiyuru, a Dravidian equivalent of the above expression. Still a succinct history has got to be built up in regard to the activities of these early dynasties.

The ancient period chiefly consists of the working of the Āryans. The Āryans, while imbibing and assimilating the best of the cultural traditions of the indigenous Dravidian peoples of India, turned their whole history topsy-turvy. And the creation of the mighty heroes or martyrs of the land like the Māhiṣikas, the Karṇāṭas and others into daityas, asuras, or demons is due to the innovation of the Āryans alone. If this trend of thought is followed and generally approved, then the problem of the early settlements of the Āryans along with what is contained about them in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and other allied literature will assume a different colour altogether. However, we shall now study the main problem itself.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, while dealing with the question regarding the early settlement of the Āryans in Southern India, has made a mention of the various countries referred to in Sanskrit literature at its different stages [2]. The *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the Āndhras, the Pulindas, the S'abaras and the Puṇḍras as people living in the south [3]. Pāṇini mentions the names of the southernmost kingdoms as Avanti, Kosala, Karuṣa and Kaliṅga.

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2. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan down to the Mahomedan conquest*, Collected Works of *R.G.B.* III, pp. 11 ff.

3. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 18.

Kātyāyana explains in his *Vārttikā* the derivation of the word Mahiṣmat, and also the names of the countries of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas. He refers to Nāśikya or the modern Nāśik. Again, in the Mahābhārata, Sahadeva is said to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, the Draviḍas, the Udras, the Keraḷas and the Āndhras. He is also said to have visited many other places *e.g.* S'ūrpāraka (modern Supara near Bassein), Daṇḍaka, Karahāṭaka (modern Karhāḍ), and Kiṣkindhyā [4]. On the other hand, the Rāmāyaṇa describes that Kaikēyā while approaching the Daṇḍakas, visited the town of Vaijayanta (Banavāsi), where was (ruling) Timidhvaja [5]. Besides, it refers to different nations and nationalities *e.g.* Utkala, Kaḷinga, Daśārṇa, Avanti, Vidarbha, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Daṇḍakāraṇya respectively. It is also worth noting that the edicts of Aśōka refer to various places situated in Southern India. Aśōka is said to have sent his missionaries to the countries of the Rāṣṭikas (Raṭrakas according to the Mansehra version), the Piṭenikas and the Aparāntas. The edicts also refer to the Keraḷaputtas, Pāṇḍya and Satīyaputtas respectively. In one of the edicts, the Piṭenikas are associated with the Bhojas. The Mahāvaṁso makes a specific reference to the effect that the Buddhist missionaries visited the following nations: Kāshmir, Gāndhāra, Mahīṣamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahāraṭṭha, Yona, Himālayan territory and Suvarṇa-bhūmi, respectively [6]. Further the Dīpavaṁsa describes that the Buddhist saint Moggaliputta had sent missionaries to Mahāraṭṭha, Aparāntaka and Vanavāsi.

The Purāṇas often mention the names of the various countries and rivers located in the Dakṣiṇapatha. It included, amongst other countries, the Pāṇḍya, the Keraḷa, the Cōla, the Mahārāṣṭra, the Māhiṣika, the Kalinga, the Paunika, the Maunika, the Aśmaka and the Kuntala or Karṇāṭa. The following rivers are referred to in this connection: Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Veṇā, Vañjulā, Tungabhadrā, Suprayogā, Kāverī, Āpagā and others.

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA AND MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

We have thus seen that Karnāṭaka as an independent nation had come into existence since very ancient times. At one time it

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4. *Sabha P.* Ch. 31 (Bombay Ed.).
5. *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 9, 12.
6. *Mahāvaṁso. XII.*

included the whole of Mysore and the portion extending to the banks of the river Narmada—if we are to believe in the occupation of this territory by the Māhiṣikas. However on older nations becoming extinct various independent nationalities came into being. And it was on account of this that the two provinces of Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra arose as two definitely distinct entities during the historical period.

One of the outstanding problems in the history of Dakṣiṇapatha is in connection with the early boundaries of Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra. But before entering into the *pros* and *cons* of this problem, we shall study the other details regarding the designations themselves.

Karnāṭaka—Kuntala :—Karnāṭaka is known by its various designations *e.g.* Kannaḍa, Kannāḍu, Kannaḍar, Karṇāṭa, Karnāṭa, Karnāṭaka, and best of all Kuntala. Scholars also have tried to derive it in a varied manner : ' from Kaṟ and nāḍu,' (black soil); ' Karnāṭaka—a Sanskṛtized from of Kannaḍa ' ; ' Kannaḍa derived from Karnāṭaka ' ; ' from Karu-nāḍu ' (an elevated country); ' from Karṇa,' ' Karṇi ' ; ' from Kammita-nāḍu ' (*Kammita* according to Narasimhachar means ' sweet-smelling ') ; ' from Kaṇṇanir ' etc. We need not enter into the details of the correctness or otherwise of these theories here.

The word Kuntala is mentioned in the various Purāṇas. One of the S'ātakarṇi kings also is designated as Kuntala-S'ātakarṇi. It is not improbable that Karnāṭaka derived it after the name of this king alone. The word ' Karnāṭaka ' is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. It is referred to in the famous Sanskirt play Mṛcchakaṭika of S'udraka, in the Bṛhatsaṁhita of Varāhamihira, and in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva. Some inscriptions describe that the famous Kannaḍa king Pulikēśi was proud of the Karnāṭaka armies. It is worth noting that the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, in its chapter on painting, states, that the hero's body must be painted after the mighty Karnā aka type. The famous Tamil work S'ilappadikāram (second cent. A.D.) refers to the expression '*Kannaḍar*'. The Velvikuḍi copper-plate grant of the Pāṇḍya king S'aḍaiyan Parāntaka makes a mention of *Karnanāḍuga*. We have already referred to the expression *Kaṇṇanir* obtaining in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.

Mahārāṣṭra : On the other hand, the word Mahārāṣṭra is also frequently referred to in the Purāṇas. The Matsya Purāṇa [7], however, uses the word Navarāṣṭra instead of Mahārāṣṭra. The Garuḍa [8] and the Viṣṇudharmottara [9] give variant versions *e.g.* *Nara* or *Naya rāṣṭra* (which seem to be rather misprints for *Nava*). Later, Daṇḍin makes a reference to the Mahārāṣṭri language. In the famous Aihoḷe inscription Pulikeśi is described as having become the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas consisting of 99,000 villages [10]. The word is of free and common occurrence in later literature also.

THEIR BOUNDARIES

The question of the respective boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra is so much interconnected that it is impossible to trace the boundaries of one country without at the same time tracing those of the other. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that "the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvarī, and that lying between that river and the Kṛṣṇā. The name Mahārāṣṭra also seems to have been at one time restricted to this tract. [11]" C. V. Vaidya also expresses a similar view-point. Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane expresses the view that the three *Mahārāṣṭrakas* mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription included the country of Kuntala also [12]. But the historical data that has become available to us at present does not allow us to draw any such conclusion.

The first reference to the boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka occurs in the Kavirājamārga, the authorship of which work is ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatuṅga Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 815-877). The poet gives a poetic description of its boundaries. He says :

"'Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies,
From famed Godāvarī,
To where the pilgrim rests his eyes
On Holy Kāverī.

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7. *Matsya* P. 114, 47.
8. *Garuḍa* P. 55, 15.
9. *Viṣṇudharmottara* P. 10, 5.
10. *I. A.* VIII, P. 243.
11. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op-cit.* p. 6.
12. Kane, P. V. Ancient Geography and Civilization of Mahārāṣṭra, J. B. B. *R. A. S. XXIV*, pp. 613 ff.

The people of that land are skilled,
To speak in rhythmic tone (the sweet Kannaḍa)[13]."

Thus at least in the time of Amoghavars'a Nṛpatuṅga the banks of the river Godāvarī seem to have formed the northern-most boundary of the Kannaḍa country. On the other hand, the statement surprisingly enough concurs with the one made in the Līlācaritra, a work of the Mahānubhāvas (1190 A.D.) written in Marāṭhi. The passage in the Līlācaritra defines the boundaries of the three Khaṇḍa-maṇḍalas or subdivisions of Mahārāṣṭra thus:

I. The First Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying from Phaliṭhāṇa downwards to wherever the Marāṭhī language was spoken; to the north of this was situated Bālēghāṭ.

II. The Second Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying on both the sides of the river Godāvarī to the extent of twelve *Yojanas*. To the west was situated Tryambakeśvara (near Nāśik).

III. The Third Maṇḍala comprised the country lying between Meghakara Ghāṭ and Varhāḍ (Berar). The work also states that the population of the country was sixty lacs[14].

From the above, one may easily infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had not made any substantial encroachment upon the country of the Kannaḍa people at least upto the end of the twelfth century A.D. If we draw any conclusion from the fact that the Mo-ha-la-ch 'a (or Mahārāṣṭra) of Yuan Chwang, or the country comprising the three Mahārāṣṭrakas (*trayāṇām mahārāstrākāṇām*) which are said to have been ruled over by the Cālukya king Pulikēśi II, does not differ much from the one detailed in the Līlācaritra, then we may possibly infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had more or less occupied only this portion of the province since the seventh century A.D.

In regard to the early boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra, occupied originally by the Rāṣṭrīyas, we have already shown elsewhere that they can be located within the following circumscribed area[15]:

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13. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, pp. 25-6.
14. S. B. Joshi, *Mahārāṣṭrada-mūla* (Kannaḍa), p. 42.
15. *Cf.* for a fuller discussion; A. P. Karmarkar, 'Boundaries of Ancient Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra', *I. H. Q.* XIV, pp. 781 ff.

I. According to the statement of Rājas'ēkhara the whole of the Dakṣīṇapatha was situated to the south of the Māhiṣmati (Māndhāta). Māhiṣmati, however, was situated at a place where the two ranges of the Vindhyas and the Sātpurā approach the river Narmadā.

II. To the west of the country was situated the country of the Bhānukacchas as evidenced in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Bhānukaccha was situated between the Narmadā and Nāśik. The *Matsya P.* uses the word Bhārukaccha instead of Bhānu-kaccha [16].

III. To the east was most probably situated the country of the Bhojas (or Berar).

IV. To the south were situated the Godāvarī and the adjoining provinces.

Thus we see that this Rāṣṭika (Rāṣṭrīya) can be originally located within this circumscribed area. But later on a *Gaṇa* or republic of some of the countries seems to have been formed which was termed as Mahārathī-Gaṇa, as can be easily inferred from the expression *Mahārathī-gaṇa-kāyiro* [17] on an inscription found in the cave at Nānāghāṭ. It was since this time, most probably, that the word Mahārāṣṭra came into vogue. During the time of Pulikēśi II, it had increased to the extent of 99,000 villages. Later on the kingdom of the Rāṣṭikas becomes *Raṭṭa-pāḍi saptārdhalakṣa* (seven and a half lacs). Evidently, the three expressions 99,000 Mahārāṣṭrakas, *saptārdha-lakṣa Raṭṭapāḍi* and the 'sixty lacs' Mahārāṣṭra Deśa (Lilācaritra), used at three different periods in the history of Southern India, really indicate the progressive expansion of the Mahārāṣṭra country that was taking place since the time of Pulikēśi II.

Thus, once the problem of the boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra is settled the statement of the author of the Kavirājamārga becomes clearer, namely, that the boundaries of Karnāṭaka stretched from the banks of the river Godāvarī down to those of the holy Kāverī. Earlier than this, it is stated in the Skānda Purāṇa, that a Daitya named Karṇāṭa founded the kingdom after his own name on the

16. *Matsya* . P 114, 50.
17. R.G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 23.

shores of the ocean (western)[18]. Thus this province of the Kaṇṇanirs, which was originally situated somewhere round about Banavāsi, grew itself into a larger unit—the kings of which later on ruled over both the provinces of Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka.

We shall now try to trace the later history of the Kaṇṇanirs.

CHAPTER II

OUTLINES OF POLITICAL HISTORY

We have already observed that the real history of Karnāṭaka begins with the advent of the Indus Valley civilization. Later on, the Harivaṁśa, while narrating the account of the marriage of Haryaśva of the Solar line with Madhumati, the daughter of Madhurākṣasa, states that their son Yadu married the daughter of the Nāga king Dhūmravarṇa, and that one of their sons founded the kingdom of Vanavāsa or the later Banavāsi. Is it possible that the country situated round about this province is called as Nāgarakhaṇḍa mainly on account of this early settlement ?

During the later period, Karnāṭaka is closely associated with the doings of Rāma Dāśarathi, Bhārgava Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Jarāsandha, Candrahāsa and others. S'ūdraka, king of Kaḷinga, and Vikramāditya also seem to have had political connections with this kingdom. It is really from the time of Aśōka that the landmarks of its history begin to become more perceptible. It is said that Candragupta along with Bhadrabāhu migrated to the southern part of India. Several rock-edicts of the Mauryan Emperor Aśōka are found at different places *e.g.* Maski, Siddapur, Koppaḷ, Brahmagiri and others. Further, the S'ātavāhanas and the Cuṭus or cuṭu-sātakarṇis ruled over this territory. The Sātiyaputtas, mentioned immediately after the Keraḷaputtas in the Aśōkan edicts, seem to be the same Sātavāhanas ruling over Karnāṭaka.

The next prominent dynasties which ruled over Karnāṭaka were the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas, the Yādavas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. It is often stated in the inscriptions that many of these dynasties hailed

18. *Skānda P. Māhes'vara Kh. Kāumārikā Kh. 2*, Adhyāya 37, 192—193.

from the North. But there is no sound and substantial evidence to corroborate the above statement. The inscriptions which are responsible for this view themselves belong to a very late period *e.g.* the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D. It is worth noting that the notion of attributing a northern origin to a particular dynasty seems to have become popular, mainly because Northern India was considered to be a tract occupied by the Āryan immigrants and on account of which alone it was designated as *Ārya-bhūmi* during the earlier period.

Scholars like C. V. Vaidya and others made an effort to show that with the exception of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara almost all these dynasties were Mahārāṣṭrian. But, all the data that has become available to us in the field of research since then, do not allow us to accept any such conclusion. Added to this, even eminent scholars like Father Heras, D. V. Potdar, A. S. Altekar, M. H. Krishna and others have proved beyond doubt the Kannaḍa origin of these dynasties.

Best of all, almost all these dynasties seem to be of Dravidian and consequently of Kannaḍa origin. The dynasties of the Cāḷukyas (from a Dravidian root according to Kittel), the Kadambas (from the *Kadamba* tree), the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (from *Nāḍavar*, equivalent to *Rāṣṭrīyas* of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*), the Hoysaḷas (compare the representation of a man and the two lions on the Mohenjo Daro seal) and others, seem to have derived their tribal names from their respective *lañchanas* or heraldic devices. The Vijayanagara dynasty was evidently of Kannaḍa origin.

However we shall try to give a brief survey of the political history of some of the main ruling dynasties of Karnāṭaka.

THE EARLY KADAMBAS

Ucchangi — Banavāsi — Triparvata

1. Mayūraśarmā
345-370

2. Kangavarmā
370-395

3. Bhagīratha
395-420

4. Raghu (420-430)

5. Kākusthavarmā (430-450)

7a. Kumāravarmā 475

8. Mandhātrivarmā
490-497

6. S'āntivarmā
450-475

7. Mṛigēśavarmā
475-490

9. Ravivarmā
497-537

10. Harivarmā
537-547

7b. Kṛṣṇavarmā I
475-480

8b. Viṣṇuvarmā
485-497

9b. Simhavarmā
497-540

10b. Kṛṣṇvarmā II
540-547

11. Kṛṣṇavarmā III
547-565

12. Ajavarmā
565-606

13. Bhōgivarmā
606-610

Viṣṇuvarmā

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14. Madhuvarmā
651-655

Devavarmā

THE EARLY KADAMBAS

(C. fourth. cen. A.D. to seventh Cen. A.D.)

Origin: from Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba (cf. *Supra*). They were of Mānavya Gotra and are said to have been Haritiputras. They are said to have hailed from the north [19].

345—370 A.D. *Mayūra-śarmā* (or varmā)—He was the founder of the dynasty. His preceptor's name is Viraśarman [20]. He asserted himself against the Pallavas and established his kingdom in the forests of S'rīparvata (S'rīs'aila, Karnul Dist.). He levied tributes from Bāṇa and other kings. He was later appointed as Daṇḍanāyaka by the Pallavas [21]. Further the Pallavas installed him as king over a territory extending from the Amara ocean (Western) to the Premāra country [22]. He performed eighteen sacrifices [23].

370-395 A.D. *Kangavarmā*—He was defeated by the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīsena.

395-420 A.D. *Bhagīratha*—He suffered a crushing blow at the hands of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīsena I [24]. The embassy, through the famous poet Kālidāsa was sent by Candragupta, most probably during this reign [25].

420-430 A.D. *Raghu—Kākusthavarmā* (430-450 A.D.) son of Bhagīratha. He married one of his daughters to the Vākāṭāka king Narendrasena [26], and the remaining two to Candragupta and Skandagupta [27] respectively.

450-475 A.D. *Śāntivarmā*—He ruled over Karnāṭaka consisting of eighteen chieftains [28].

475 A.D. *Kumāravarmā*

475-490 A.D. *Mṛgeśavarmā*—(also called S'ri-Vijayaśiva, Mṛgeśa). A division of the empire took place during his reign; and Kṛṣṇavarmā founded the kingdom making Triparvata as his

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19. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 16.
20. Tālgunda Ins. E. C. VII, p. 9.
21. E.I. VIII. p. 29 (Kielhorn's view).
22. E.C. VII, Sk. 176; E. I. VIII, pp. 33-36.
23. *Ibid* VII, Sk. 178.
24. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 8.
25. *Ibid* p. 19.
26. E.I. IX. p. 27; VI, pp. 30-31.
27. E.C. VII, Sk. 176.
28. *Ibid* VI, Kd. 162.

capital [29]. Mṛgeśavarmā married Prabhavati of the Kaikeya family [30]. Murāravarmā, brother of S'antivarmā, also established himself at Ucchaśṛṅgi. He defeated the Gaṅga king (Harivarmā) on which account he changed the capital from Kuḷavala (Korur) to Talkād on the banks of the river Kāveri.

475-480 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā I*— He separated himself from Mṛgeśavarmā and established himself at Triparvata. He was defeated by the Pallava king Naṇakkasa [31], and remained under the political tutelage of the Pallavas till his death.

490-497 A.D. *Mandhātṛvarmā*

497-540 A.D. *Siṁhavarmā*

485-497 A.D. *Viṣṇuvarmā*—He was proficient in grammar and logic. He was installed as king by a Pallava king named S'antivarmā.

497-537 A.D. *Ravivarmā*—He was the most famous of all the Kadamba monarchs. He defeated Caṇḍaṇḍa of Kañchi and established his capital at Palaśika [32]. After his death one of his queens observed sati.

537-547 A.D. *Harivarmā*—He was the last king of the elder branch.

540-547 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā* II—He usurped the throne of Harivarmā, probably killing him, and began to rule over the whole empire. The Cāḷukya king Pulikeśi declared himself independent making Vātāpi as his capital.

547-565 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā* III—He was enthroned at Vaijayanti. He offered his sister to the Gaṅga king Taḍaṅgala Mādhava in marriage [33].

565-606 A.D. *Ajavarmā*—He was defeated by the Cāḷukya king Kīrtivarmā, after which he most probably ruled as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara [34].

606-610 A.D. *Bhogivarmā*—*Viṣṇuvarmā.*

651-655 A.D. *Madhuvarmā*—He was the 'last scion' of the family. During the period of Bhogivarmā, Yuan Chwang visited the Koṅ-ki-ṇi-pula [35]. Madhuvarmā was, however, destroyed by Vikramaditya I.

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29. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A. VII, p. 34.
30. E. C. III, Nj. 122; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 33.
31. E. C. XI, Dg. 191.
32. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions*, I-A. VI. p, 30.
33. E. C. I, p. 15; M. A. R. 1924, p. 68; *Ibid* 1925, p. 88. The question of the date of this incident remains still unsettled. *cf.* under Gaṅgas.
34. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, pp. 55 ff.
 Fleet, *Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A. XI, p. 68; Hyderabad Archæological series, No. 3, p. 5.
35. Moraes *op. cit.* p. 62.

THE GANGAS OF TALKĀD

Kongaṇi Varmā I	...	340.400 A.D.
Mādhava II	...	400-435 A.D. ?
Harivarmā	...	436 A.D. ?
Viṣṇugopa	...	
Taḍaṅgala Mādhava	...	450-500 A,D. ?
Avinita ...	...	520-540 A.D. ?
Durvinita ...	...	540-600 A,D. ?
S'rī-vikrama		

Bhūvikrama (608-670 A.D.)
S'rivallabha
Kannaluri Rāja
Paramakula
Rājavarmā
Singadi
Nṛpatuṅga
Jayatuga (Contemporary of S'ivamāra II)

Navakāma
S'ivamāra I (670-715 A.D.)
S'rīpuruṣa (726-788 A.D.)

S'ivamāra II (788-812 A.D.)
Mārasimha (853 ?)
Prithivīpati (853-880)
Prithivīpati II (880-925)
(Contemporary of Rājamalla II)

Vijayāditya
Rājamalla Satyavākya (817-853 A.D.)
Nītimārga I (853-869)
Ereya Gaṅga I

Duggamāra

Rājamalla II (870-907 A.D.)

Būtuga Ereyappa (Nitimarga II. 887-935)

Narasimha (920-922)
Rājamalla III (922-937 A.D.)
Būtuga II (937-960) M. Revakkā (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Princess)

Maruḷadeva M. daughter of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa.
Mārasimha (961-971)
Daughter: Mother of Indra Rāṣṭrakūṭa

Rājamalla IV (977-985)
Rakkasa Gaṅga (985-1024)
Daughter: M. Indrarāja Rāṣṭrakūṭa who died in 984 A.D.

THE GAṄGAS OF TALKĀD

C. FOURTH CEN. A.D. TO TENTH CEN. A.D.

The Gaṅgas belonged to the Kāṇvāyaṇa Gotra and claimed to be the descendants of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and of Solar descent. The foundation stone of the empire was laid in about the fourth century A.D. mainly at the initiation of the Jain Ācārya Siṁhānandi[36].

(*Note:* It should be noted in this connection that we are dealing below with important personages only).

400-435 A.D. (?) *Diḍiga (date not known) and Mādhava*—They came from the north (?) to Perur and laid the foundation of the empire *i.e.* Gangavādi 96,000. The capital of the kingdom then was Kuḷavala. Diḍiga seems to have ruled first. He defeated the Bāṇa kings, led an expedition to the Koṅkaṇ coast, and added Maṇḍali near Shimoga to his territory[37]. Mādhava was proficient in Nītiśāstra, Upaniṣads and other studies. The authorship of the Dattaka-sūtra is ascribed to him. The Pallavas took his aid when fighting against the Kadambas.

436 (?) *Harivarmā*—The capital was shifted form Kuḷavala to Talkād during his reign. He is said to have been installed on the throne by the Pallava king Simhavarmā II.

Viṣṇugopa—He set aside the Jain faith and replaced that of Viṣṇu.

450-500 A.D. *Taḍaṇgala Mādhava*—He was a worshipper of Tryambaka. He married the sister of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmā. He endowed many grants to the Jain temples and Buddhist Vihāras.

520-540 A.D. *Avinīta* — He was brought up as a Jain. His preceptor's name is Vijayakīrti[38]. He was enthroned while still young. He is said to have married the daughter of Skandavarmā.

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36. E.C. VIII, No. 35; II S.B. 54; I.A. XII, p. 20; S.I.I. II, pp. 3, 87 cf. also the Gommaṭasāra, which says that the family prospered due to the blessings of the Jain Siṁhānandi (Second Oriental Conference, Pro. p. 301).
37. *Ibid.*
38. *E.C.* X, Mr. 727.

540-600 A.D. *Durvinita*—He was 'one of the most remarkable monarchs'. His preceptor's name is Pūjayapāda [39], the famous Jain grammarian. He wrote a commentary on the fifteen Sargas of the Kirātārjunīya by Bhāravī. In his later years he worshipped Viṣṇu. He married the daughter of the Rāja Skandavarman of Punnāḍ [40].

Musakera (S'rī-Vikrama)—He married the daughter of Sindhurāja [41]. It was since his reign that Jainism attained the status of a state religion.

608-670 A.D. *Bhūvikrama* (S'rī-Vallabha)—He defeated the Pallava king Narasiṁhapota-varmā at Vilinda [42], and is said to have occupied the Pallava dominions. His son had two Pallava princes in his charge [43].

670-715 A. D. S'ivamāra I.

726-788 A.D. *Śrīpuruṣa*—The prosperity of the Gaṅgas reached its zenith during his reign. The kingdom came to be designated as S'rī Rājya. Henceforth the Gaṅgas assumed the title of the Pallavas *e.g. Permmanandi*. His queen was ruling at Agaḷi in his forty second year [44].

788-812 A.D. *Śivamāra II*—He is said to have been detained, released and enthroned again by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He was an authority on the science of Elephants and in regard to matters theatrical. The authorship of the Gajaśāstra is attributed to him.

817-853 A.D. *Rājamalla*, Satyavākya—He rescued the country from the clutches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas [45]. But he was later molested by Baṅkeśa, sent by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa.

853-869 A.D. *Ereyaṅga Nittimargga*—The Doddahundi stone inscription has an interesting *bas-relief* showing his death-scene [46]. The later Gaṅgas since Būtuga came under the influence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*i.e.* Būtuga onwards). During the reign of Rāchamalla Satyavākya, the influence of Jainism was revived.

985 A.D. The collosal statue of Gommaṭarāya was built in 985 A.D. by the famous General Cāmuṇḍarāya.

1004 A.D. Rājendra Cōḷa captured Talkād in 1004 A.D. Thus this dynasty was brought to an end.

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39. *Ibid.* XII. Tm. 23.
40. *Ibid.* IX, Db. 68.
41. *I.A.* XIV, p. 229.
42. *E.C.* III, Md. 1135; XII, Tm. 23.
43. *Ibid.* III, Md. 113.
44. *Ibid.* X, Mb. 80.
45. E.C. IV, Yd. 60; XII, Nj. 129.
46. E.C. III, Tn. 91. cf. for an illustration, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 43.

THE WESTERN CAḶUKYAS OF VĀTĀPI (BĀDĀMI)

- (1) Jayasimha I
  - (2) Raṇarāga
    - (3) Pulikēs'in I (c. A.D. 550) M. Durlabha-devi of the Batpura Family.
      - (4) Kirtivarman I (A. D. 566-67 to 597-98) M. a Sendraka Princess
        - (6) Pulikēs'in II (A.D. 609 to 642), M. a daughter of the Ganga King Durvinita
          - Candrāditya (Nedamari ?) M. Vijaya-Bhaṭṭārika
          - Ādityavarman
          - (7) Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-680)
            - (8) Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696)
              - (9) Vijayāditya (A.D. 696 to 733-34)
                - (10) Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-34 to 743-44) M. Loka-Mahā-devi & Trailokya-mahā-devi.
                  - (11) Kirtivarman II (A.D. 743-44 to 757)
                - Bhima I
                  - Kirtivarman III
                    - Taila I
                      - Bhima II
                        - Vikramāditya III
                          - Ayyaṇa I. M. a daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II (?)
                            - Vikramāditya IV, M. Bonthā-devi a daughter of the Cēdi King Lakṣmaṇa
                              - Taila II (A.D. 973-74 to 996-97)
          - (Third Gujrat Branch?) Dharās'raya Jayasimhavarman (A.D. 671 and 692)
            - S'riyās'raya S'ilāditya
            - Jayās'raya Mangalarasa
            - Avanai-Janās'raya Pulakes'in (A.D. 739)
        - Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Branch at Vengi. (615-633 A.D.)
        - (Second Gujrat Branch ?) Jayasimhavarman (697-08)
          - Nāgavardhana
      - (5) Mangalis'a (A.D. 597-98 to 609)

(First Gujrat Branch)

- Jayasimha-rāja
  - Buddha-varman
    - Vijayarāja (A.D. 643)

THE CĀḶUKYA DYNASTY

The whole of their overlordship can be divided into four branches, namely, (1) Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi, (2) Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, (3) Cāḷukyas of Gujrat, and (4) Cāḷukyas of Vengī. The period of the Cāḷukyas of Gujrat and Vengī is almost coterminus with that of the first two branches. We are dealing with the political history of the first two main branches alone—though while tracing the cultural history we have made use of all of them.

The Cāḷukyas are of Māṇvaya Gotra and are styled as Haritiputras. Their name is used in various ways *i.e.* Caḷukya, Caḷkiya and Cāḷikya etc.[47]. We have, however, accepted the broadly accepted terminology '*Cāḷukya.*' Only the most important reigns are dealt with here.

THE CĀḶUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI (VĀTĀPIPURA)
C. 550 to 757 A.D.

Jayasimha ; *Raṇarāga*

c. 559 *Pulikeśi I* : Satyāśraya S'ri Pulakes'ivallabha. He was 'the first great prince' of the family. He made Vātāpipura (Bādāmi) his capital. He performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

566-597 A.D. *Kīrtivarman*, his son, subjugated the Nalas. The Mauryas were brought under subordination[48]; and the Kadambas of Banavāsi were reduced by him.

597-609 A.D. *Mangalīśa.* His brother *Mangalīśa* vanquished the Kaḷacuris (of Cēdi) and Buddha—a Kaḷachuri prince[49]. He conquered the Revatidvīpa (Reḍi). He built the temple at Bādāmi[50], and placed the idol of Viṣṇu in it[51].

566-597 A.D. *Kīrtivarman I* : Maṅgalīśa (597 A.D. 609 A.D.) *cf.* above for information.

609-642 A.D. *Pulikeśin* II ; Satyāśraya S'rī Pṛthivī-vallabha, son of Kīrtivarman. In his early years he defeated Appāyika Govinda[52]; attacked Banavāsi and reduced it ; defeated the

47. Question discussed by Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, *p.*336.
48. I. A. VII, p. 241.
49. *Ibid* III, p. 161.
50. *Ibid* p. 305.
51. For discussion *cf.* Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, III, pp. 68-69.
52. I. A. VIII, p. 24.

Gaṅgas[53], and the head of the Āḷūpa race; and sent his forces against the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ. He, with a fleet of hundred ships, went to Purī; invaded the countries of Lāṭa, Māḷava and Gurjara and brought them under subjugation[54].

He opposed the armies of Harṣavardhana (probably on the banks of the Narmadā) and assumed the title of Parames'vara. Thus he became the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas comprising 99,000 villages. Then he marched against Kāñhcī; and invaded the country of the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraḷas. During his reign Yuan Chwang seems to have visited the country—thus referring to the country of Mo-ha-la-cha. Further Pulikeśi II received an embassy from Chosros II, King of Arabia (591-628 A.D.). During his reign Viṣṇuvardhana founded a branch at Veṅgī; and his brother Jayasimha acted as Viceroy at Nāśik[55]. His eldest son Candrāditya ruled over Sāvantwāḍi.

642-655 A.D. The country was invaded and occupied for about thirteen years by the Pallavas.

655-680 A.D. *Vikramāditya I*—The Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keraḷas and the Pallavas became his feudatories. He defeated them again and brought them under subjugation. His famous horse Citrakaṇṭha is often described in the inscriptions[56]. A branch of the Cāḷukya family was founded at Lāṭa during his reign and was assigned to Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya[57].

680—696 A.D. *Vinayāditya*—He made all the surrounding rulers as his allies[58] including those of Pārasikas on the Malabar coast and Simhala.

696-733 A.D. *Vijayāditya*—During his reign the idols of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahes'vara were installed at Vātāpipura in S'aka 621, *i.e.* 699 A.*D.*

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53. I. A. I, pp. 36, 63; VIII, p. 168.
54. The famous Aihoḷe Inscription, I. A. VIII, p. 243, ff, relates all about his campaigns.
55. J. B. B. R. A. S. II, p. 4; I. A. IX, p. 123.
56. I. A. VI. pp. 86, 89, 92; J. B. B. R. A. S. III. P. 203; I. A. IX. pp. 127, 130-31.
57. J. B. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. p. 27.
58. I. A. VI. p. 89.

733-744 A.D. *Vikramāditya II*—He defeated Nandipotavarman. He entered Kāñchī and granted immense wealth to temples and Brahmins. He marched against the Cōḷas, the Keraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas and reduced them [59]. His Queens Lokamahā devi and Trailokyamahādevi built two temples at Paṭṭadakal *i.e.* Lokeśvara and Trailokyes'vara respectively.

744-757 A.D. *Kīrtivarman* II—Dantidurga wrested all the power of the Cāḷukyas during his reign.

(*To be continued.*)

59. *Ibid.* VIII, p. 267.

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HISTORY OF PULI-NĀḌU (CIRCA A.D. 825 to 975)

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, b.a.

Puli-nāḍu was the country comprising of portions of North Arcot, and Chittoor Districts, and lay to the east of the Gaṅga 6,000 country which comprised mainly of a great portion of the Kolar district in Mysore. Puli-nāḍu was divided into two divisions, the north and the south, and it is clear from one of the inscriptions [1] from Laddigam that Kōyattur (Mod. Laddigam), in the Chittoor district, was situated in Vaḍa-Puli-nāḍu (*i.e.* North Puli-nāḍu). It was included within the dominion of the Bāṇas, the subordinates of the Pallavas. It remained under the sway of the Bāṇa kings till the beginning of the tenth century A.D. It was several times raided by the Noḷambas during the course of their frequent fights with the Bāṇas, both when they attempted to prove their might over one another, and in the series of battles that were waged when the Gaṅga throne was contested by Rācamalla II and Nanniya Gaṅga the son of Pṛithivīpati I. In earlier times the Cōḷas of the Telugu country seem to have raided Puli-nāḍu and occupied it. A certain Cōḷa-mahārāja's inscription is found in the Punganur taluk, and in it he is said to be the king ruling the country [2]. The same record mentions that a cattle-raid at the place occurred and that a great victory in it was achieved by a certain Kalliyaṇṇa, evidently a general of the Telugu-Cōḷas. The victory must have doubtless been achieved against the Bāṇas. In the early part of the rule of Mahābali Bāṇarasa Vikrāmaditya, the Vaidumbas made a raid on Puli-nāḍu, though unsuccessfully [3]. A certain Bāḷasōma-Bhaṭṭāra was entrusted with the administration of the Peddavaḷa-gatūru country of Puli-nāḍu in the time of Mahābali Bāṇarasa [4].

The Bāṇa and Noḷamba forces met each other often and some details are available of their conflicts. On one occasion the village of Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk was besieged by hostile forces in the course of a cattle raid by them, when Nāgiḷa

1. No. 551 of 1906.
2. No. 174 of 1931-32.
3. No. 197 of 1931-32.
4. No. 229 of 1931-32.

Mūlaguṇḍūra son of Mūlaguṇḍūra, the hero of the Bāṇa king is said to have lost his life [5]. On another occasion, in the days of Mahābali Bāṇarasa Vikramāditya Jayamēru, surnamed Bāṇakandarpa, two of his heroes named Periyavaṉ and Ālamaraṉ *alias* Kēlamuddhaṉ fell fighting cattle-raids at Kuṟuñjeaḷa by Goṇamēṇṭhi and Mudunda of Miniki [6]. Next, the Bāṇa lord seems to have ordered Keṇḍaḷiga Pergaṅga and his son Dēveya to repel an attack on Puli-nāḍu made by the Noḷamba. A battle at Miniki was waged and in it though Dēveya died, success attended the side of the Bāṇas, and after the repelling of the Noḷambas, Mahābali Bāṇarasa granted to Dēveya's family the village of Miniki as a gift for the valuable services rendered [7]. In one of the attempts of Vikramāditya in regaining Puli-nāḍu, the fort of Ariyapalli identical with Aruvapalle, a hamlet of Mēlamdoddi in the Punganur taluk was captured by his forces under the leadership of prince Vijayāditya [8]. In the time of Vikramāditya's illustrious son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru, who is stated to have been ruling Vaḍugavaḷi West 12,000 province, Gaṅga 6,000, and (the country to the) East of Maṇṇe, a raid was made on Kōyattūr (Mod. Laddigam in the Punganur taluk) by a certain Kāḍuveṭṭi Muttarasa, under the orders of the Noḷamba and in the defence of that raid, Kaliyaṅga Kaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the Bāṇa subordinate, slew nine of the enemies and died [9]. An invasion was made by the Raṭṭa king Ballaha against a Kāḍuveṭṭi for the failure of the payment of the usual tribute due from him, and a subordinate of the Bāṇas, Bāṇataṭṭaran by name, slew a certain Gaṇamūrthi, one of the soldiers of the invader [10]. When the Noḷambas temporarily seized Puli-nāḍu and occupied the same, Mahārāja (Vaidumba), attacked it under the orders of the Gaṅga (Nanniya Gaṅga) and in the battle that ensued, his forces suffered reverses and Permāvi, evidently the important city of the Vaidumbas, was burnt by Kāḍuveṭṭi and Mṛḍuva, the Noḷamba generals [11]. On hearing this unfortunate news Vīracūḷāmaṇi *i.e.*

5. No. 196 of 1931-32.
6. Nos. 569-570 of 1906. S. I. I. Vol. XI. Pt. I. Nos. 2 and 3.
7. No. 571 of 1906. S. I. I. Vol. IX. Pt. I. No. 4.
8. No. 195 of 1931-32.
9. No. 542 of 1906 ; S. I. I. Vol. IX. pt. I. No. 5.
10. No. 327 of 1912. *Ibid* No. 6.
11. No. 306 of 1912. *Ibid.* No. 20.

Vijayāditya, the Bāṇa chief rushed with his forces and fought a deadly battle and overthrew the army of the enemies, slaying Tējamāni, one of the valiant commanders of the Noḷamba in the fight [12]; the Bāna and Vaidumba forces jointly met those of Rāca-malla, Noḷamba Mahēndra and their allies, on behalf of the Gaṅga king, at Sōremaṭi and during the course of that battle, the Pērmāḍi (*i.e.* Nanniya Gaṅga) joined the Bāṇa, and the battle of Sōremaṭi was won [13] in *circa* A.D. 885 [14].

The attack on Puli-nāḍu and the capture of Kōyattūr in circa A.D. 853 are mentioned in the Modugulapalle record [15]. That also states that in the conflict Gannarasa, brother of Dosiarasa fell. Thus in about the beginning of the latter half of the ninth century, the Noḷambas had temporarily occupied the Puli-nāḍu of the Bāṇas as a result of the raids made on that country, and as evidences of this there are a few inscriptions in that country belonging to Noḷambadiyarasa [16]. The military successes of the Noḷambas over Puli-nāḍu were at one time achieved by a general of their side, called Kīrtigāvuṇḍa, and in appreciation of his successful raid over this tract, Noḷamba Mahēndra raised him to the military dignity of Noḷambagāvuṇḍa of Puli-nāḍu [17]. A certain Pṛithipatiarasa was ruling Puli-nāḍu about that time and he owned the Noḷamba overlordship, though it was temporary [18]. The record mentioning this states that when Pṛithipatiarasa was ruling Puli-nḍuā a cattle raid on Eḍeyūr occurred in which Kāḍukuṭṭi, grandson of Mūlaguṇḍūra, fell and that in memory of him a gift of land as *kalnāḍu* was made by Māramayya, grandson of Mārasiṅgarasa. From a record from Karshanapalle it is learnt that he had a son by name Vikkiaṉṉaṉ, who succeeded to the governance of Puli-nāḍu after his father [19]. There is no means of ascertaining whether this Pṛithipatiarasa and his son Vikkiaṉṉaṉ, which is evidently an *alter nomen* for Vikramāditya, were related to the younger branch of the

12. *Ibid.*
13. Nos. 543 of 1906 and 295 of 1905; S. I. I. Vol. IX. pt. I. Nos. 11 and 14.
14. Ep. Ind. XXIV. p. 189.
15. No. 318 of 1912.
16. *Eg.* No. 198 of 1931-32.
17. No. 325 of 1912.
18. No. 198 of 1931-32.
19. No. 332 of 1912.

Gaṅgas who were supported by the Noḷambas. Vikkiaṉṉaṉ's power over Puli-nāḍu must have been severely put to test when the temporary possession of that tract by the Noḷambas was successfully released by the redoubtable efforts of Bāṇakandarpa Vikramāditya Jayamēru and his illustrious son Vijayāditya. There are ample evidences of the regaining of their lost hold. In one of the endeavours, Pṛithipatiarasa who had been holding Puli-nāḍu under the Noḷamba king Noḷambadiarasa, must have been put to death and this seems to be referred to in a Bāṇa epigraph from Karshanapalle in Punganur of the time of Vijayāditya which records the death of Prithipatiarasa [20].

Toṇḍai-nāḍu, the kingdom of the Pallavas, was conquered and annexed by the Cōḷa king Āditya I in *circa* A.D. 888 [21] and the chiefs that were till then the Pallava subordinates naturally transferred their allegiance to the conquerors, the Cōḷas. But the Bāṇa country was yet independent and its subjugation was only accomplished in the early years of the reign of Āditya's successor, Parāntaka I [22]. We find that the Cōḷa king Rājakēsarivarmaṉ Āditya I, along with his Cēra ally Kō-Sthāṇu-Ravi, honoured a chief Vikkiaṉṉaṉ by name, with distinguishing marks of dignity and conferred on him the hereditary name or title S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻavēḷ [23]. The Cōḷa inscription mentioning this, belonging to the reign of Āditya I, comes from Tillaisthanam in the Tanjore district, and records the gift of Naḍamba Mādēvi, who was the queen of the above mentioned chief Vikkiaṉṉaṉ. This Vikkiaṉṉaṉ, belonging to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. might well have been identical with the aforesaid Vikkiaṉṉaṉ, the son of Pṛithipatiarasa, who was ruling the Puli-nāḍu in the reign of Noḷambadiarasa. The facts that he was honoured by the two kings and was christened with the title which meant that he was the subordinate chief of the Cōḷas, together with the fact that he and his queen were present in the heart of the Cōḷa kingdom, at a time when the Bāṇa hold of Puli-nāḍu was made firm in the hands of Vijayāditya Vīracūḷāmaṇi,

20. No. 328 of 1912.
21. Ep. Ind. Vol. XX. p. 49.
22. S. I. I. Vol. II. p. 387-9.
23. No. 286 of 1911. See S. I. I. Vol. III. No. 89 and T. A. S. Vol. II. Add & Corr. pp. vi-vii.

whom we have found was evidently the cause of death to his father, are amply significant of the diplomatic move on the part of the rising Cōḷa conqueror of Toṇḍaināḍu. We may find here the beginning of the scheme of the Cōḷas to overthrow the powerful Baṇa lords who were admittedly a check on the growing empire of the Cōḷas, even after the great fall of the dynasty of Pallavas, the erstwhile overlords of the Bāṇas.

That the conflicts between the Bāṇas under Vijayaditya and the Noḷambas under Vīramahēndra continued to the end of the ninth century is known, and as a consequence of the numerous fights which this Baṇa king had put up with Racamalla, Vīramahēndra and others, the power of the Bāṇas was dwindling. The last known year of Vijayaditya is S' 831 *i.e.* A.D. 909[24].

To understand the policy of the rising Cōḷa king Āditya towards the Bāṇas, one other record must be noted. The Takkolam inscription of Āditya is dated in his twenty-fourth year of reign and mentions the gift of a silver spout to the god of the place by Pṛithivīpati II, the son of Mārasimha and grandson of Pṛithivīpati I[25]. The question why this Western Gaṅga figures in the Cōḷa inscription found in the heart of the conquered Pallava kingdom is important. This record shows that this Western Gaṅga was the friend of the Cōḷa and might well have been a protegé under him. Pṛithivīpati I had sacrificed his life in the battle of S'rīpurambiyam and Nanniya Gaṅga, his son, who had ascended the throne at Talakkad setting aside Rācamalla with the aid of the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya, was subsequently deprived of the kingdom by Rācamalla himself. The power of the Bāṇas had been gradually dwindling by the end of the ninth century and therefore there was no hope for any of the members of the legitimate line of the Western Gaṅgas to regain their throne, by seeking the assistance of either the Bāṇas or the Pallavas, who had by this time been extinquished by the Cōḷas. Pṛithivīpati II, therefore, realising the helpless predicament in which he was placed, and with the desire of reconquering the throne of the Gaṅgas, had repaired to the side of the Cōḷas, who

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24. No. 99 of 1899.
25. No. 5 of 1897. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX. p. 81 ff.

were now becoming all powerful having revived their dynasty and having caused the disappearance of the Pallavas who were till then commanding great power and influence in the politics of the neighbouring countries. Thus we see that in the last decade or the end of the ninth century the Cōḷa king had become a source of support to the Western Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati II and Vakkiaṉṉaṉ the son of Pṛithipatiarasa, the chief of Puli-nāḍu, who had been defeated and made a king by the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya as shown above. In favouring the two princes the Cōḷa king's ambition of the extension of his empire, and the annihilation of the Bāṇas, who were a powerful check to his progress and who must have put stout oppositions when their Pallava overlords were beaten, found an opportunity and a reason. The moment for effecting this did not arrive in the reign of Āditya I, till the end of whose reign the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya had been independently ruling his kingdom. The Cōḷa king's last year was A.D. 907 when his famous son, Parāntaka I ascended the throne. Bāṇa Vijayāditya reigned till A.D. 909. Parāntaka I had launched upon a scheme of conquest and his very first attempt obtained for him the Pāṇḍya country which gave him right to assume the epithet 'Madirai-koṇḍa'. As this is found in his third year records, Madura must have been annexed in or prior to A.D. 909-910. And at about that time and after the conquest of Madura, he met the arms of Bāṇa Vijayāditya and his son Vikramāditya and uprooted them by force and made over their Kingdom to his Gaṅga protege Pṛithivīpati II Hastimalla calling him S'embiyaṉ Māvalivāṇarāyaṉ which signified that he was the lord of the Bāṇas and feudatory of the Cōḷa [26]. As a necessary consequence of this action over the Bāṇas, Parāntaka I must have reinstated his other protege Vikkiaṉṉaṉ in the rulership of Puli-nāḍu which was a part of the then existing Bāṇa kingdom. This meant that he was placed in a subordinate position to S'embiyaṉ Māvalivāṇarāyaṉ. The fact that on both of them had been conferred the titles commencing with the part 'S'embiyaṉ' denoted their ultimate subordination to the Cōḷa emperor. In confirmation of what has been said above we find records dated in the reign of

26. S. I. I, Vol. II. pp. 387-9.

Pṛithivīpati II with the title S'embiyaṉ Māvalivāarāṇyaṉ in the Bāṇa territory [27], and in one of them the fact that Vikkiaṇṇaṉ the son of Pṛithipatiarasa was ruling Puli-nāḍu Sixty, is also recorded [28].

The Gaṅga kingdom was at that time ruled by Būtuga I with whom the Cōḷas had not yet contended. Therefore, Pṛithivīpati II was placed as king over the Bāṇa country. By placing him over the newly conquered Bāṇa kingdom with another Cōḷa subordinate assisting him in the rule of the important province of Puli-nāḍu Sixty, Parāntaka I assured himself against any possible rising of the uprooted Bāṇa lords with the intention of recapturing their lost dominion, while at the same stroke of action the Cōḷa king discharged his duty towards the two wards who had sought the aid and shelter of the Cōḷas, in his father's time.

To continue the history of Puli-nāḍu, Vikkiaṇṇaṉ does not seem to have ruled Puli-nāḍu for long. We find that a quarrel arose between him and another chief who was called Pallava Dhava-ḷa and as a result of it the former is said to have lost his life. By virtue of this conquest over Vikkiaṇṇaṉ, Pallava Dhavaḷa became the ruler of Puli-nāḍu [29]. It will be useful to consider here an inscription from Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjore district [30]. It records the gift of ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the God Mahadēva of the sacred Mūlasthana of the temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, by S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻavēḷāṉ *alias* Pa...ṉuppaṉ in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Parakēśarivarmaṉ 'who took Madura' *i.e.* Parāntaka I. As we have already noted S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻavēḷ was the hereditary title conferred on Vikkiaṇṇaṉ by Rajakēśari Āditya I, it is certain that the chief who made the above mentioned gift to the god at Tiruviḍaimarudūr was either identical with him or was a member of his family, as he is styled by that name or title. His *alias* is also given, but some letters of it have been lost, and is therefore only partially preserved as Pa... ṉuppaṉ. Obviously he was not Vikkiaṇṇaṉ. From the facts that Vikkiaṇṇaṉ was honoured with the name in the reign

27. Nos. 332 of 1912 ; 201 and 172 of 1931-32 etc.
28. No. 332 of 1912.
29. *Ibid.*
30. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 719.

of Āditya I, and that this new chief figures in the twenty-fourth year record of Parāntaka I who was Āditya's son and successor, it is clear that Pa... ṉuppaṉ was evidently the son of Vikkiaṇṇaṉ and because of that fact he had the right of bearing the hereditary name S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻavēḷāṉ. This identity being now clear, the fact that he was present in the Cōḷa capital making gifts in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his overlord Parāntaka I *i.e.* in A.D. 930 is significant. We have noted above that his father Vikkiaṇṇaṉ was not destined to rule for long and that he had been put to death in a fight that ensued between him and Pallava Dhavaḷa, who after settling accounts with him became the ruler of Puli-nāḍu. This implies that Pa... ṉuppaṉ, could not hold his own right of succession to the rulership over Puli-nāḍu after the death of his father, being weak. He had, therefore repaired to the court of his family overlord, for shelter and intervention in his cause. That he had reached Parāntaka's court in A.D. 930 is evidenced by the above noted record; and this also indicates the approximate date when his father Vikkiaṇṇaṉ had been killed as also the beginning of the rule of Puli-nāḍu by Pallava Dhavaḷa, to have been in or before A.D. 930. It must be said that there are no evidences of the Cōḷa king having taken up the cause to punish Pallava Dhavaḷa immediately. But that the new ruler of Puli-nāḍu did receive suitable treatment at the hands of Parāntaka I, during the last years of his rule will be evident from the sequel.

After killing Vikkiaṇṇaṉ, Pallava Dhavaḷa became the ruler of Puli-nāḍu in about A.D. 930 and remained a subordinate of S'embiyaṉ Māvalivāṇarāyaṉ *i.e.* Pṛithivīpati II, as is evidenced by the mention of him as ruling over the country in other records of that king [31]. A raid on Eḍeyūr, identical with the modern village of Eduru in the Punganur taluk [32], was made by a certain Dāmarasa during his time and the forces of the raider was attacked at Mānandimaṅgala [33]. A feud which took place between two of his subordinates is also recorded [34]. A hero's death while fighting

31. Nos. 272 and 201 of 1931-32.
32. Nos. 202 to 205 of 1931-32.
33. No. 202 of 1931-32.
34. *Ibid*.

with Pallava Dhavaḷa is mentioned in an inscription from Bodinayanipalle in the same taluk, belonging to a certain Paramēs'vara Paḷlavamalla. It is not possible to say who this Pallavamalla was and whether the Pallava Dhavaḷa was identical with the chief of Puli-nāḍu or was an earlier member [35].

As an inscription of Parāntaka I, the Cōḷa overlord of Pṛithivīpati II, dated in his last known regnal year (A.D. 955) is found in Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk, mentioning that a certain Sivarayya was ruling the Puli-nāḍu, it seems to be clear that Pallava Dhavaḷa's rule ended in about the end of the first half of the tenth century A.D. and that Sivarayya held sway over the place after him [36]. Whether he was the successor to the principality by inheritance or by conquest over Pallava Dhavaḷa has not been mentioned. The village of Ederu had been raided in the time of Pallava Dhavaḷa, and one of his adherents Kumbūra Maṇḍēya had laid his life while attacking the enemy at Mānandimaṅgala ; and the devastation of the village is referred to in the record mentioning Sivarayya, as also the death of a certain Polleya who died during that operation [37]. It seems probable that Dāmarasa had raided the village under the orders of or on behalf of Sivarayya and as the village was devastated it is clear that the raid was successful. It is thus probable that Sivarayya obtained rulership over Puli-nāḍu by defeating Pallava Dhavaḷa in circa A.D. 955 ; it is not improbable that Sivarayya might have been related to Vikkiaṇṉaṉ, the son of Pṛthipatiarasa, and S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻavēḷān *alias* Pa...ṉuppaṉ, the son of Vikkiaṇṉaṉ.

About the end of the first half of the tenth century A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III had conquered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the hands of Pārantaka I and was in possession of it till the end of his reign *i.e.* till A.D. 967-68 [38]. Kṛṣṇa III made a state entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on the 9th of March 959 A.D. and encamping along with his victorious army at Mēlpadi in the Chittoor District he established his followers in the southern provinces, taking possession

35. No. 173 of 1931-32.
36. No. 204 of 1931-32.
37. Nos. 200 and 201 of 1931-32.
38. No. 125 of 1906.

of the estates of the provincial chiefs[39]. The rule of Sivarayya who was the Cōḷa subordinate ended with the Raṭṭa conquest and Puli-nāḍu was administered by a certain Vajjaradēva, whose name is also given out as Vajjaḷadēva. He seems to have remained as the subordinate of the Raṭṭas till the end of Kṛṣṇa's reign[40]. Even in the time of Kṛṣṇa III, in about A.D. 964, an apparently fierce raid on Maṅgala, a place in his country, took place. By whom this was made is not stated[41]. This chief took advantage of the weakened state of the power of his erstwhile overlords, the Raṭṭas, after Kṛṣṇa III and assumed independence, as is borne out by the inscriptions which mention him as ruling the earth, and omitting the name of his overlord[42]. But it seems that he was probablay vanquished by Mārasima II, on the request of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra IV who was placed by him on the Raṭṭa throne[43]. The epigraph which is thought to indicate the independent rule of this chief records the death of Bīrabaḷañjigi the son of a certain S'iṅghapuli when a certain Vemmarasa had made a cattle raid[44]. Vemmarasa was probably a commander under Camuṇḍa-rāya, the general of Marasimha II[45]. His independent rule was thus a very short one and he lost his rulership, being put down by the Western Gaṅgas, the friends of the Raṭṭas whose weak position was taken advantage of by him. That this Vajjaḷadēva was conquered by the Western Gaṅgas is made a certainty by the presence of a record of Permānaḍi in the Punganur taluk and in this the ruler of Puli-nāḍu is given out as a certain Mayimāna Pallavarayar[46]. Therefore, it is clear that after Vajjaḷadēva, Mayimāna Pallavarayar was the ruler of Puli-nāḍu and a Gaṅga subordinate. Even the rule of this Gaṅga candidate was not free from troubles, for a cattle raid at Maṅgala is recorded in that epigraph[47].

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39. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 281 Karhad plates.
40. Nos. 580 of 1906; and 19, 180, 236 and 237 of 1931-32.
41. No. 180 of 1931-32.
42. No. 196 of 1931-32. See. A. R. for 1931-32, p. 49.
43. *Ibid.* and Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 170-1,
44. No. 176 of 1931-32.
45. Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 171.
46. No. 177 of 1931-32.
47. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX

Chiefs of Puli-nāḍu		Overlords
Cōḷa mahārāja	...	Telugu Cōḷas
Bālasōma Bhaṭṭāra	...	Bāṇas ... { Vikramāditya Jayamēru; Vijayāditya Prabhumēru }
Pṛithipatiarasa	...	Noḷambas
Vikkiaṇṇaṉ	...	Pṛithivīpati II { Cōḷa Āditya I; Cōḷa Pārāntaka I }
S'embiyaṉ Tamiḻaveḷāṉ *alias* Pa...nuppaṉ	...	
Pallava Dhavaḷa	...	
Sivarayya	...	Parāntaka I (Cōḷa)
Vajjaradēva	...	Kṛṣṇa III (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)
Mayimāna Pallavarayar	...	Mārasimha II (Western Gaṅgas)

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CAN WE IDENTIFY THE MOTHER GODDESS CULT AT MOHENJODARO?

BY BAIJ NATH PURI, M.A.

EVER since the discovery of female figurines of terra-cotta, etc. at Mohenjodaro and Harappa coupled with the appearance of a male god at the same place who is recognised at once as a proto-type of S'iva and numerous phallic emblems it has been supposed by scholars that there had been in existence the cult of some Mother Goddess who was associated with the proto-type of S'iva in the Indus Valley civilization. Such female figurines have been described by Sir John Marshall as belonging to a very distinctive and generally uniform type *viz.* a standing and almost nude female, wearing band or girdle above the loins with elaborate head-dress and collar and occasionally with ornamental cheek bones and a large necklace. Similar figurines have been found in Western Asia extending as far as the Aegean Sea [1]. This led Sir John Marshall to believe that there was in existence in ancient times a cult of some Mother-Goddess which had her votaries from the Indus valley up to the Aegean Sea. The name of this Mother Goddess is however not mentioned by Sir John Marshall and as such it is still a mystery. The theme of this paper, therefore, is to suggest the name of this Mother Goddess and also to trace out the history of this cult.

Now very recently in two issues of Indian Culture [2] we have discussed the identity of the Goddess Nāna or Nānaia whose figure we find on Kuṣāṇa coins. We have tried to prove that this Goddess was none else than the Mother Goddess *Ambā* or Ambitama whose iconographical features led us to identify this Indian Mother Goddess with the Goddess Nāna. We have also made a comparative study of the cult of this Goddess in India with her cult in Western Asia, and have clearly shown how in both these places she was looked upon as the goddess of procreation along with Bhaves'a in India and with Anu in Western Asia. Now can we presume that this Mother Goddess Nāna=Ambā

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1. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization Vol. I. P. 50.
2. Indian Culture Vol. VII Part II p, 225 ff; Vol. VII Part IV. p. 491ff.

was the same as the Mother Goddess Figurines found at Mohenjodaro and in Western Asia? In other words can we identify the cult of the Mother Goddess of the Indus valley civilization with the one of the Kuṣāṇa period? If this could be easily done then we shall have not a shadow of doubt in assuming that the Mohenjodaro cult of the Mother Goddess was that of the Goddess Nāna=Ambā cult of Kuṣāṇa India.

Let us first make a study of the Mohenjodaro figurines. Here out of a huge mass of female figurines, there is a possibility of two or three different types of Mother Goddesses. Besides these different kinds of Mother-Goddesses there is a particular female figurine who is naked though she is elaborately dressed and ornamented over the waist. The proto-type of Rudra or S'iva, however, is portrayed naked with his *Ūrdhva-Meḍhra* completely shown. Besides these, numerous *liṅgas* and *yonis* were also found. All this may be an indication of some obscene element connected with the cult of this Mother Goddess which may be due to some internal development or external influence. As such we shall have to examine Indian evidences on this point.

Now the proto-type of S'iva or Rudra, is portrayed with his *Ūrdhva-liṅga*, an evidence of obscene element. Therefore is Rudra or S'iva ever depicted or described as such or does obscene element crop up in Vedic Literature which is supposed to belong to the earliest period? In the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā [3], and later on in the S'atapatta Brāhmaṇa [4] Rudra has Ambā, whom we have identified as the Mother Goddess, as his sister. Thus in the former work we have *Eṡe te Rudra Bhāgah saha svasrā Ambikaya tañjuhasva Svāha*. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa Rudra is mentioned as *Trayambaka* i.e. associated with three *Ambas* or sisters. But in the later period S'iva is associated only with one Ambā and that too in the capacity of his wife. This is clear from a S'loka in the Amarkośa [5].

Śivā Bhavānī Rudraṇī Sarvānī Sarvamaṅgalā.
Aparṇā Pārvatī Durgā Mṛḍānī Caṇḍika=Ambikā.

3. III. 58.
4. II. 6-2-9.
5. I, 37-38.

Would it therefore not be probable to suggest that there were different classes of female figurines, as was first presumed by Dr. Bhandarkar[6], in Mohenjodaro and the relation of the prototype of S'iva or Rudra to them was that of Trayambaka of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa? That is to say, they were his sisters while the fourth class namely of the dancing figure was meant for procreation and that is why she is portrayed naked unlike others. Here the idea of procreation is made explicit and clear enough by the presentation of liṅgas and yonis, which suggest the introduction of the obscene element. This obscene element does not seem to be due to internal development for the idea of procreation does not arise till a very late period, as is evident from the fact that it is only in the Amarkos'a that we have reference to Ambā as the wife of S'iva or Bhaves'a the god of procreation. Now we have to see if the conception of liṅga or phallic worship was known in the vedic period or it was incorporated there from some outside sphere.

The reference to phallus does occur in the Ṛgveda. There are two Ṛks in the Ṛgveda which refer to the hostility of the Āryans towards the phallic worshippers who were known as *Śiśnadevas*[7]. But later on these S'isnadevas seem to have been absorbed in the Āryan fold and their chief deity Ēk-Vrāta was given a place in the Brahmanical pantheon. In the Atharvaveda[8], Ēk-Vrāta is attended in ascending order by Bhava, Sarva, Pas'upati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeo and Īs'āna. They were all considered as manifestations of the Ēk-Vrāta. This cult which worshipped phallus or liṅga was thus identified with the S'aiva sect. The conception of Mahāyogi of Rudra or S'iva got changed into Ardhanarīs'vara. Ambā was transformed into a personification of S'akti (female energy) and with the association of the male element in the person of Bhaves'a, another name of S'iva, she became the creator and mother of the universe (Jaganmātā or Jagadambā). The phallus or liṅga which was previously confined to the Vrātya cult now became a symbolical manifestation of S'iva. Therefore the obscene element and the idea of procreation were the outcome of the absorption of the Vrātya cult.

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6. Meyer lectures 1938-9. P. 22.
7. A. V. VII. 21. 5.
8. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, S'aiviṣm etc. P. 103.

Now as the Mohenjodaro figurines and the proto-type of S'iva clearly betray obscene element and depict conception of procreation, which was absorbed at a much later period by the Āryan culture, it appears that the Vrātya cult had first influenced the Mohenjodaro civilization and later on the Āryan civilization. The fact, that the Vrātya cult was not confined to India alone but its influence was also perceptible in Western Asia and the Aegean, is clear from a quotation of Sir John Marshall's Mohenjodaro and the Indus civilization. He has pointed out [9], "In Asia Minor and round the shore of the Mediterranean are found many examples of a Nature or Mother Goddess with a young subordinate God by her side. In Punic Africa, she is Tanit and her son, in Egypt Isis with Horus, in Phoenicia Ashtaroth with Tammuz (Adonis), in Asia Minor Kybele with Attis, in Greece Rhea and Zeus. Everywhere she is unwed, but made the mother first of her companion by immaculate conception and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her son." This shows that the obscene element and the idea of procreation in the cult of the Mother Goddess were known in Western Asia and other neighbouring countries as well in that period. And what could it be due to? The answer may be suggested that it was due to the Vrātya cult.

Now in order to identify the cult of the Mother Goddess in the Indus-valley civilization with the Nāna=Ambā cult of the Kuṣāṇa period, we shall try to throw light on two factors. Firstly Nāna should have her partner who could be identified with the proto-type of S'iva or Rudra which we find in Mohenjodaro and secondly the goddess should be connected with the idea of procreation of the wordly beings in association with her partner. Thus in a coin of Huviṣka we actually find Nāna and Ohpo facing each other. Ohpo was identified with Umes'a or S'iva by Dr. Bhandarkar, but it would be better to identify him with Bhaves'a as was first hinted by the late Prof. Rapson, because Bhaves'a means 'the creator of the world' and as such is the god of procreation. That Nāna has been looked upon as the goddess of procreation, is, however, made very clear by a quotation from Jastrow on the cult of this Goddess in Uruk in Western Asia. He writes [10]:

9. Ref. 1. p. 57.
10. The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria p. 233.

"The oldest cult of the Mother Goddess so far as our material goes, appears indeed to have been in Uruk where she is known as Nāna but we may be quite sure that the cult was never limited to one place. The special place which Nāna has in the old Babylonian pantheon is probably due to the peculiar development taken by the chief deity of that centre ANU, who as we have seen before, became an abstraction, the God of heaven presiding over the upper realm of the universe. Her temple at Uruk, known as Eanna, 'the heavenly house' and revealing the association of the Goddess with Anu as a solar deity, became one of the most famous in the Euphrates valley. It is in connection with the cult of Nana that we learn of a phase of the worship of the Mother Goddess which degenerates into obscene rites that call forth the amazement of Herodotus (Book I.S.P. 19). As the mother Goddess, Nāna or Iṣtar is not only the source of fertility displayed by the earth and the kind gracious mother of mankind, but also the goddess of love, the Aphrodite of Babylonia. The mysterious powers of conception and the growth of embryo in the mothers womb gave rise at an earlier period to rites in connection with the cult of the Mother Goddess that symbolised the fructification through the combination of the male element." The views expressed by Jastrow fit in most excellently in the case of Nāna=Ambā cult in India. In the Kuṣāṇa period she was associated with Ohpo=Bhaves'a the God of procreation. She was looked upon not only as the source of fertility but also as Bhavānī the wife of Bhava=Bhaves'a, the creator of the world.

Thus it can hardly be denied that the conception of the Mother Goddess Nāna=Ambā with her partner Ohpo=Bhaves'a, for the creation of the world was notable by its presence in the Kuṣāṇa period. The obscene element depicting this conception in that period was not hinted so far and in order to assert this definitely, we shall have to furnish concrete evidences. It would, therefore, be worth while considering two figures of S'iva in the Mathurā Museum, which have been assigned by Mr. Diskalkar[11], in his paper, to the Kuṣāṇa period, possibly the later. In the first

11. 'Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum U. P. H. S. Jan. 1932 p. 18 ff at pp. 39-42.

sculpture S'iva and Pārvati are standing so close to each other and the left hinge of S'iva is in close contact with the right one of Pārvatī. In this sculpture the Urdhvaliṅga or the *penus erectus* is the noticeable feature and S'iva has three eyes. In the second sculpture also S'iva stands by the side of Pārvatī whom we might as well call Bhavāni with his Urdhvameḍhra. There is again a third sculpture where he stands without Pārvatî but it depicts his Urdhvaliṅga. As pointed out earlier these sculptures belong to the Kuṣāṇa period earlier or later on grounds of style and identity of dress particularly the treatment of the hair of Pārvatī. What more do we have to prove that the Nāna=Ambā cult of the Kuṣāṇa period may be identified with the Mother Goddess cult of Mohenjodaro?

Before we close, we might as well suggest here that the cult of Ambā whom we have identified with the Goddess Nāna of the Kuṣāṇa period, was older than the Mohenjodaro civilization as we find the word Ambā or Amma expressing the sense of mother even in Tamil Lexicons[12]. The word occurs in early as well as in later Sanskrit literature, as we have pointed out before. As such it can easily be presumed that the Goddess Ambā was as old as the Dravidian Culture and was worshipped in the from of Nāna in the Kuṣāṇa period, and even now in the Tamil land this mother Goddess has innumerable votaries though the form now used in Amma. Therefore the question of difference of age is hardly material in this connection.

We have thus come to the conclusion that the Mother Goddess Nāna=Ambā cult of the Kuṣāṇa period was the same as the Mother Goddess cult of Mohenjodaro and as such we may identify the former with the latter. The question of age is hardly material for purposes of identification when it is definitely known that Ambā=Amma is as old as the Dravidian culture and even at the present day she is worshipped as Amma in Southern India. With her partner Bhaves'a, She created the world and was styled as Jaganmata and curiously enough the obscene elements connected with the creation of the world noticeable in the Mohenjodaro figures find a place even in the Kuṣāṇa period. We may, therefore, suggest that the Mother Goddess cult of the Mohenjodaro times may be identified with the Nāna=Ambā cult of the Kuṣāṇa period[13].

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12. Caldwell: Grammar of the Dravidian Language. p. 455.
13. This paper was read at the Hydrabad Session of the Indian History Congress. It is published here with some new material added to it.

SYMBOLISM IN INDIAN ART

By P. Sama Rao, B.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Page 36.)

MUSIC

Indian Music owes its origin to the Primeval Sound (*Nāda*) or S'abda Brahman, denoted by '*Om*'. According to Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad this *Omkara* is the parent of the Vedas, Svaras, and every form of creation in the three worlds; for it says,

"*Ōmkāra prabhavā vēdā ōmkara prabhavah svarāh,*
Ōmkāra prabhavam sarvam trailokyasa carācaram."

This is amplified in the verse statements;

"*Ōmkāranca parabrahma Yāvadōmkāra sambhavāh,*
Ākārākaramākāra ēte sangīta sambhavah."

and

"*Akarō viṣṇurūpanca Ukarōbrahma rūpakam,*
Makāra Bhārgarūpanca Sarvamōmkārarūpakam."

which mean (*a*) that Ōmkara is made up of three sounds A (अ), U (उ), and M (म), which are symbolic of the Trinity, Viṣṇu, Brahma, and S'iva, respectively, and (*b*) that each of these members of the trinity is comprised in the sound, Ōmkara. The sounds A (अ), U (उ), and M (म) correspond to the three guṇās, Sātvika, Rājasa, and Tāmasa, respectively. According to the Vedas "all fine arts are for the culture of the soul (Cf. "*Ātma sukruti bhāva silpāni*") for the *bhāva* and the *rasa* which have to be depicted in them, are verily the essence of God Himself. They proclaim,

"*Rasōvai sah rasam hi ēva ayam labdhvā ānandī bhavati.*"

So that all the fine arts inclusive of music are of divine origin and are akin to God is beyond all doubt. The artist is a creator in miniature. I have referred already to the significance of the line, "*Devō bhūtvā dēvam yajēt*" which lays down the manner of worshipping God for purposes of attaining Him. In other words it means, that without the acquisition of godly qualities which purify one, one cannot adore God to any fruition.

Music is the one among the fine arts, that makes an instantaneous appeal even to the uncultured; for it has the greatest

emotive quality. The artistic *bhāva* or *rasa* is more easily manipulated therein than in the other forms of art. No other science touches the human heart and sways it so much and so easily to Infinity as music. This must be the psychological reason why it has been utilised to a great extent in *Bhaktimārga*—the path of devotion—to attain Him. Since this is an element in *Abhinaya*, *Abhinaya* has been prescribed, and in practice observed, to be the best mode of approach, to forget oneself in and become one with God.

I have already referred to the truth that the Primeval *Nāda* is the motive power in creation. So Music compounded of sounds—*Śabdabrahman* or the *Nādabrahman*—is the most ancient of the forms of art.

This much of preamble is necessary before the significance of the 'MUSICAL MODES' or the *Rāginis*, in the Indian Art, can properly be appreciated.

According to our ancients, each *Rāga* has its own *rūpa* or psychic form, in two manifestations; (*a*) the Invisible, called the sound-form, or the *Nādamaya rūpa*, and (*b*) the Visible, called the Image form or the *Devatāmaya rūpa*. Nāradīya lays down:

"The images of the melodies emanate from the Supreme Deity (Brahman) and their function is to worship the Supreme Deity itself." So, the melodies and their types condensed into *Rāgas* are not, in the words of Mr. O. C. Ganguli, "human creation but only the formulæ enunciated by the deities themselves for the meditation and worship of the Supreme Deity." This explains how and why each *Rāga* has its own *Bīja-mantra*, made up of the permutation and combination of the *Saptasvaras* or notes, like, *Sa*, *Ni*, *Da*, *Pa*, *Ma*, *Ga*, *Ri*. Like the sculptor or the pictorial artist invoking the deity to image forth in his mind, the singer also invoked the *Nādasvarūpini* (sound-form) to form herself on his mind, and emanate therefrom, with all her attributes. This invocation is known as *Avathirna*. The *Rasa* or the aesthetic emotion is the soul of the *Rāga* that inhabits the singer's body after a successful invocation. Each of these *Saptasvaras* has its own symphonic structure, in the form of its presiding deity. Each has its own emotion to convey. Consequently, the sounds, *Sa*, *Ri* and

Da are symbolic of "heroism, wonder and resentment ;" *Ga* and *Ni*, of sorrow ; and *Ma* and *Pa*, of humour and love. Just as in the science of colours, different elementary colours mixed in different proportions, give rise to different compound tints, these notes also (in different *Rāgas*) give out different *Rāgas* of different emotive values, when so combined. Just as there are seven primary colours in the colour scheme, there are seven primary notes in the sound scheme. Just as you get white or non-colour in combination of perfect proportions as prescribed, so in the scheme of sounds these different notes in their perfect combination, produce the primeval melody, *OM*. which is a sound symbol of the Supreme God, who is *Nirguṇa* (colourless) or void of characteristics.

Realising this truth, our ancients sought the artists to depict pictorially the melodies or *Rāgas*, which form the basis for the *Ragini* lore in the Indian art.

I might cite but a few examples. *Pratamamanjari Rāga* has been described by Mr. O. C. Ganguli to represent

"the spirit of the early monsoon which lends to the trees and shrubs their first new shoots for the year and is visualised in the dramatic story of a damsel who had come out to her garden frightened by the cloud and lightning to run for shelter under her pavilion." *Lalita Rāga* represents the wailing of a damsel separated from her lover in the morning after an ecstatic night ; while *Kēdāra*, signifies an unsatisfied love craving for more *rati*. *Sri Rāga* stands for the golden glory of the autumn festival after rains, while *Indōla* is the symbol of the joyousness of spring. *Kalyāṇi*, and *Thōdi*, *and Kāmbhōji* are the *Mangala Rāgas*, while *Sourāṣtra Sri Rānjini*, and *Mukhāri*, are the reverse. This is neither the place nor the fit opportunity to dilate further on the *Rāginis*. The reader is referred to Mr. Ganguli's book on the subject for further study and information.

SYMBOLISM OF BIRDS

The Birds, like the babes,
" Are god's apostles, every day
Sent out to preach of love and hope and peace."

and so, no review of any principles of art can be complete without some reference to them. The home-coming of birds and cattle

after their day's singing and toil respectively, is very much celebrated in our literatures that depict *Sandhyārāga* or the evening song, as it were. The feathery set of Life cloudens the sunset skies with their various tiny bodies prattling, mayhaps, of the problems of the morrow, while the other robust set of Life kicks up clouds of fiery dust closing as it were, the eye of day. The one is remindful of the poetry of Life, while the other the drudgery of it. The one suggests the beyond that is above; while the other, the mundane earth that is below. Man is benefited by them both. It is, therefore, no wonder that he has celebrated them.

The following birds are symbolic of the following:—

(*a*) *Garuḍa* (Golden Eagle)—is symbolic of the beginningless and the endless Time or Eternity.

(*b*) *S'uka* (Parrot)—is symbolic of pretty talk.

(c) *Śakuntala* (mīna)—is also noted for pretty talk and is an emblem of modesty and feminine grace.

(*d*) *Sārika*—It is symbolic of pretty talk as well.

(*e*) *Haṁsa* (swan)—It symbolises purity and other attributes already described.

(*f*) *Kōkila* (Cuckoo)—It is an emblem of a melodious voice. This bird also stands for a typical irresponsibility of a parent in bringing up his offspring.

(*g*) Cakōra—Is a bird that longs for the Moon just as a lover longs for his beloved. So, in the land of romance a lover is compared to this bird.

(*h*) Cakravāka, (Kōka)—is symbolic of an ideal spouse; and its yearning for the Sun is as the lover's yearning to meet his beloved.

(*j*) Cataka—This is the bird that longs for darkness, just as an *Abhisārika* yearns for the night to go out to meet her beloved.

(*k*) Mayūra (Peacock)—Stands for (1) vanity when it is playing with its tail spread out; (2) the wail of the individual self to join the Universal is compared to its wail on the eve of the monsoon breaking out; (3) its heavenly blue colour stands for the higher *manas*; (4) its

gait is the ideal gait of the Padmini type of woman: and (5) is symbolic of God-especially, S'iva, in that it has conquered the snake which stands for eternity.

In this connection I cannot resist quoting a few verses of S'rī S'aṁkara from his *Śivanandalahari*, which describe the symbology of some of these birds; and where S'iva like the veritable peacock conducts His dance before His spouse Pārvathi who is compared to a Mayūri;

"*Hamsah padmavanam samicchatiyathā nīlāmbudam cātakah,*
Kōkah kōkanadapriyam pratidinam candram cakō rastadā,
Chētōvānchati māmakam paśupatē cinmārgamrigyam vibhō,
Govrīnātha bhavatpadābjayugalam kaivalya soukhya-pradam."

* * * *

Ākāśēnasikhī samastaphaninām nētrākalāpīnatā,
Nugrāhipranavōpadēśaninadaih kēkīti yōgīyatē,
Syāmam sailasamudhbavām ghanarucim dhristvain-atamtammudā
Vēdāntōpavanē vihārarasikam tam nīlakantam bhajē."

* * * *

Sandhyāgharmadinātyayō harikarāghātaprabhūtānaka,
Dvānovāridagharjitam diviśadām dhristiccatācancalā,
Bhaktānām paritōṣabhāśpavi-tatirvruśtirmayūri Śivā,
Yasminnujjvalatāndavam vijayatē tam nīlakantam bhajē."

The latter two verses describe the benevolent and not the destructive *Nṛtya* of S'iva, which has been depicted by an unnamed Indian artist in his *Sandhyagāyatri*.

To sum up, the various conceptions of symbolism till now detailed are sought to express the rhythmic vitality or the spirit of harmony—the essential quality of an Indian master-piece. As a Chinese æsthetecian has expressed, in a master-piece,

"The spirit sets in motion the phenomena of the world, as the hand of the harper sets in motion the strings of the

> instrument. Rhythm is the motion of Life in life, in the aspect of its manipulation of movement."

S'aṁkara expresses this truth in a better and cogent way when he says,

> "On the vast canvas of the self the picture of the manifold worlds is painted by the self and that Supreme Self seeing but itself enjoys great delight."

The Indian artist being blessed with the spiritual vision is able to see "Cosmic waves in a drop of woman's tears" and realise "Eternity in an hour of seeing the tree in the bud."

All this is achieved by the Indian artist with the aid of Symbolism.

(*Concluded*)

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Continued from Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, page 56.)

CHAPTER III

ANOTHER definition of unreality is stated as against him who disputes the meaning of the scriptural text, namely 'Here He does not become manifold'[41]. Unreality is that which is the counter-entity of the negation with regard to the substratum in which it is cognised [*i.e.* by calling the jar unreal, what we mean is] that it is capable of being denied absolutely with regard to the point (of space and) time in connection with which it is perceived. Or it(*i.e.* unreality) is that which is the counter-entity of the negation with regard to the substratum in which it is cognised as stated above and this (substratum) is stated to have a form of absolute reality. The meaning is "Unreality is that which is the counter-entity of the negation, which is cognised always with regard to the sub-staratum in which it is cognised. The knowledge of the substratum has always 'itself' (*i.e.* unreality) as its attribute. And this (absolute negation) is cognised always with regard to the point of the space and time in which it is perceived". Then the clause namely, "suppose that (object) is apprehended through that relationship inherent in that form possessed of attributes" is introduced. Then the counter-entity of the negation (of the kind stated above) that is found in that (object) has the distinguishing characteristic of that particular form through that particular relationship is to be introduced. Otherwise the fallacy of *Siddha Sādhana* (*i.e.* proving the proved) arises by considering the counter-entity, namely, the liberated souls, through another relationship and also through the distinguishing characteristics of another form[42]. And the conclusion is that unreality is that which is possessed of attributes that are inherent in itself. All these attributes are related to the counter-entity in two ways, namely, (1) they are the distinguishing characteristics of both (itself and its counter-entity),

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41. *Advaitasiddhi, op. cit.* P 94.
42. Here the Advaitins say that the *Brahman* is defined as what it is not and not as what it is.

because they are the attributes peculiar to itself; and (2) there is the apprehension of the negation of itself with all its attributes. And the negation has its attributes in the relationship that is different from that of the counter-entity and the attributes found in 'itself', because it possesses distinguishing characteristics that are different from the substratum similar to itself. Its substratum possesses the attributes of the most general form, and it does not possess the attributes denoted by 'itself' [*i.e.* unreality]. If it were so (*i.e.* if it possesses the attributes denoted by itself), the fallacy of *Siddha Sādhana* (*i.e.* proving the proved) arises by considering a few attributes of silver in the shell devoid of silver. The counter-entity which is distinct from it (*i.e.* the substratum) possesses the attributes in their essential nature. Here in the inferential reasoning of the particular form, the word, "itself" refers to that which is possessed of all the attributes of silver; because in the inferential reasoning, namely, 'the object (under dispute) is unreal, because it is perceivable' relates to the probandum of the general form and the inferential reasoning relating to the probandum of the particular form are (both) indicated.

In the case of the inferential reasoning, that is related to the probandum of the particular form, doubt arises in the expression, namely, 'Is the sky unreal or not? Is the earth unreal or not? Or is only one of them unreal?" Then there will be the apprehension of the probandum of the general form in the expression, 'Other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*, etc'. And this has been clearly explained in the *Advaitasiddhi*, etc.

The inferential reasoning of the particular form is this:—'That which is possessed of all the attributes of silver has a seat in the substratum containing all the attributes of silver through the relationship of identity; because it is so perceivable as in the case of the pot'. The major term will become universally established in the pot by considering the universally accepted negation, namely, 'The pot, that possesses the attirbutes of silver, does not exist.' In the old school there is the inferential reasoning of the general form, namely "That, (1) which has the form of a similar substratum, (2) which cannot be sublated upon (as false) by the knowledge of the *Brahman*, (3) which is identical with the *Sat* possessed

of attributes and (4) which is different from consciousness possessed of attributes, has a substratum similar to that which possesses all the attributes inherent in itself through the relationship of identity; because it is so perceivable as in the case of itself". By accepting this view, the inferential reasoning of the general form is explained, as it means approximately. 'Belonging to itself.' The shell-silver is the illustration and the major term will not be established by considering that the word, 'itself', denotes that [*i.e.* shell-silver]. The word, "itself" denotes potness etc. or distinction from consciousness, that is found in the subject. Thus the major term is explained. And then, too, the proposition, is this, "unreality is that which is the counter-entity of the kind stated above and the distinguishing characteristics, (of this counter-entity) are of an absolutely real nature'. Then unreality becomes only the counter-entity possessed of all the attributes found subsisting in "itself". And that (*i.e.* the counter-entity) has all its attributes in three relationships, namely (1) the relationship of being its distinguishing characteristic; (2) the relationship of being a similar substratum possessing the attributes as its distinguishing characteristic; and (3) also the relationship of its negation possessed of all its attributes. The negation of 'itself' has all the attributes in the relationship stated above. Here the inferential reasoning of the particular form is 'All those that have the distinguishing characteristic of the pot, which is common to (both) the practical reality and to that which is unreal, have a counter-entity possessed of all the attributes which are the distinguishing characteristics of the pot through the relationship of identity. Because it is so perceivable as in the case of the pot that is perceived mentally.

Here too, the distinguishing characteristics of the pot, that are found in the pot of the practical reality, are not the characteristics of the probandum. Because there is in the mentally perceived pot, the counter-entity of the type stated above, whose substratum is similar to that which is possessed of the attributes of the pot. The major term also will not become established, before the apprehension of this inferential reasoning. The inferential reasoning of the general form that is apprehended is this 'That which has the three attributes, the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc. has a

substratum similar to the counter-entity, which has the relationship of identity and all the distinguishing characteristics of whose attributes are of an absolutely real nature and whose distinguishing characteristics are denoted by itself; because there is the particular state of being perceived as in the case of shell-silver'. Suppose (in explaining) the counter-entity, the clause, 'The relationship of the distinguishing characteristic of the attributes,' is not introduced. Then there will be the absolute negation of the pot etc. because there is the relationship of conjunction, etc. in the broken pieces of the pot and its counter-entity is universally established in the pot, etc. The fallacy of *arthānthara* arises if the pot, etc. are taken to be of absolute reality. Hence this clause, ('The relationship of the distinguishing characteristic of the attribute') is introduced.

It should not be argued thus:—[43] In the pot and others, the absolute reality has been accepted. Then, how can the negation be universally established through conjunction of the broken pieces of the pot? Because in the school of those who accept the negation of the attributes subsisting in different substrata, the negation that is universal is apprehended through particular forms but the negation of the particular kind is not apprehended.

It is not so. The fallacy of *arthānthara* arises, because the negation of that kind is universally established at present through the strength of inferential reasoning.

It has been argued thus:—Thus in the clause explaining the counter-entity of the kind (stated above), the expression, 'The substratum similar to that which possesses the distinguishing characteristics of the attributes" is not included. Then even though the pot and others are taken to be of absolute reality, the fallacy of *arthānthara* arises by considering the negation of that kind, namely, the negation of the shell-silver, etc.

This is not so. Suppose the expression, 'in which it is cognised' has the meaning, 'the knowledge having 'itself' as its attribute' Then in relation to the knowledge of the first perception only, there is the apprehension of the unreality due to the erroneous perception produced by the sentences, "This letter,

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43. *Advaitasiddhi op. cit.* P. 25.

kā is the same as that (which was apprehended in a former time). And this (knowledge) is sublated as false by the sentence, 'This is not, that (letter *kā*, that was apprehended in a former time)'. Thus the definition falls short of the requirements (*i.e.* It does not include a part of the thing defined). You (*adviatin*) have yourself accepted the knowledge of the first perception in the sentence stated above, as in the case of the sentence, 'This is that same *Devadatta* (who was seen on a former occasion).'

It should not be argued thus :—The non-inclusion of a portion of the thing defined (in the definition) is only the mistake of the definition. That which is stated to be the major term (of the kind stated above) and that which is universally proved to be unreal has not been included in the subject. Hence the fallacy of *Bādha* (*i.e.* annulment) does not arise in that which is unreal.

This is not so. You (*advaitin*) yourself have established the form which the definition should take, and which applies in common to all those that are unreal by the expression, 'with regard to the substratum in which it is cognised'. The unreality of the kind (stated above) is capable of being included in (the definition) of the major term stated above. But it will become impossible to fit in the middle term, namely, 'Because it is perceivable', when there is the negation of the major term of the kind (stated above). In the knowledge apprehended by the sentence, namely, 'All that is *Sat*,'[44] unreality of the kind stated above will have "all that" as the distinguishing characteristic of the attributes. Thus the fallacy of *avyāpti* (*i.e.* the definition does not apply to a portion of the thing defined) is got over. Then it will be useless to introduce the clause, namely, 'with regard to the point of time and space' (in the definition of the major term). The absolute negation only of a portion (of the thing defined) is warded off; because it is not co-extensive with the counter-entity of the negation whose substratum is similar to the knowledge possessed of 'itself' as the attribute. Thus the fallacy of *arthānthara* does not arise by considering the absolute negation of a portion (of the thing defined). Suppose the clause, 'co-extensive with distinction'

44. *Ibid.* Page 87.

is introduced. Then the mistake arises by considering the negation only of a portion (of the thing defined). Then in order to ward off (the mistake), it is not right to introduce the qualifying clause, by following the maxim, 'Rather not touch the dirt, than touch the dirt and wash the same'.

It should not be argued thus :—'In our school *visistādvaita* in the case of all things the counter-entity of the negation is apprehended at all times and it is not co-extensive with absolute negation, therefore the clause, 'That which is connected only with distinction', is to be introduced. Then the clause, 'with regard to time and space' has been made useful.

It is not so. Your school (*advaitic*) accepts at all times both distinction and non-distinction. When the substratum, similar to itself has been mentally perceived, it is not possible to get over (the difficulty, namely) co-extensiveness with that which is connected with distinction as in the case of that which is connected with absolute negation. The substratum possesses the attributes, whose distinguishing chatacteristic is denoted by 'silverness' and (this substratum) is mentally perceived to be similar to the one possessed of the negation of the distinguishing characteristic of silver. Therefore, it is essential to introduce distinction in the same way as that (type of) negation stated above, otherwise in the inferential reasoning, "Qualities, etc. are distinct and non-distinct from that which is possessed of qualities, etc.; because they are in a similar substratum", [45] the middle term of the form, 'Because they are in a similar substratum' becomes fallacious.

It should not be argued thus :—This distinction is only a limiting condition, therefore, co-extensiveness is not universally established by introducing the clause, 'The limiting condition through the distinction connected with co-extensiveness'.

It is not so. In your school (*advaitic*) the limiting conditions have to be taken to be unreal, because there is the distinction from the limiting condition of that which is not a limiting condition and which is of the form of the negation of the limiting condition. There is the universally established similar substratum in the expression,

45. *Ibid.* P. 59.

"This distinction is only a limiting condition". That which is not a limiting condition has the form of distinction from the distinguishing characteristics of a limiting condition and this is found to exist in the distinction of the kind stated above. In the school, that accepts the absolute reality of the negation that is connected with unreality. There is the co-extensiveness with absolute negation. Suppose the negation, that is connected with that which is unreal, is of practical reality. Also suppose there is the negation of that type (stated above) at all times. Then you have established what you have stated in your school (*advaitic*) namely, the co-extensiveness with absolute negation by introducing the clause, 'The relationship of negation that is connected with co-extensiveness through one of those qualifications relating to the universally established negation'. Therefore it will not be fallacious to introduce the clause, 'The co-extensiveness of the type stated above'.

It should not be argued thus:—Suppose the negation, that is connected with that which is unreal, is taken to be one of absolute reality. Then it is stated that in 'shell-silver' there is the unreality connected with the negation of the type of practical reality. Thus here too (the definition) falls short of the requirements (*i.e.* it does not apply to a portion of the thing defined). Therefore it is not right to introduce the clause, namely, 'co-extensiveness with that connected with absolute negation'. It is thus seen that the objects seen in a dream are being negated upon as belonging only to the dream, and here it is stated that those (objects seen in a dream) are connected with the negation, which is unreal. Thus the definition falls short of the requirements (*i.e.* it does not apply to a portion of the thing defined) [46].

It is not so. Suppose the clause, 'with regard to time and space' is introduced, by considering the school that accepts the co-extensiveness that is connected with distinction. Then surely the (definition) falls short of requirements in both the cases (stated above). Because there is the negation (*i.e.* it is absolutely denied) with regard to time and space (as stated above) in the negation of the practical reality, etc.

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46. *Ibid.* P. 101.

It should not be argued thus:—That the clause, namely, 'with regard to time and space' refers to the three 'times' (namely, past, present, and future) and the conclusion is that (the clause means) 'co-extensiveness with time'. And this is absent in practical reality. Hence this (clause) is not applicable to a liberated soul, who has nothing to do with time. Therefore this (clause) does not mean 'co-extensiveness with time'. Hence no mistake arises.

It is not so. The clause, namely, 'with regard to time and space', that is stated above, is applicable in common to the negation which is not co-extensive (with unreality). It is not possible to get over the fallacy of *arthānthara* by considering the negation of the kind (stated above). Hence it is not possible to exclude that (negation) and it is not possible to exclude the fallacy of *avyāpthi* (*i.e.* the definition is not applicable to a portion of the thing defined) in the elephant, etc. that are seen in a dream. Here is established by argument the unreality of (objects seen in) a dream and their negation. Therefore in the negation of the kind stated above, there is the absence of connection with time.

It should not be argued thus:—The clause, namely, 'with regard to time and space' is introduced in order to obtain co-extensiveness through the relationship of being devoid of attributes. Thus the fallacy of *arthānthara* is warded off and the negation which has a partial inherence (with regard to time and space) is not co-extensive (with unreality) through the relationship (of being devoid of attributes.) The fallacy of *avyāpthi* (*i.e.* definition is not applicable to a portion of the thing defined) does not arise, when the elephant, etc. that are seen in a dream are considered. It is stated here that there is the co-extensiveness of the type (stated above) in the negation of the elephants etc. (seen in a dream).

It is not so. It is not proved that the objects exist as being devoid of attributes. The counter-entity of the distinction from the pot, etc. is not universally established through the relationship (stated above). The pots, etc. have been universally established. The counter-entity of the negation of the pot of the kind stated above has a substratum, which is co-extensive (with unreality) in

the same way as stated above, having the negation of the pot as the attribute, and it is not unreal. In the same way is proved that the universe is real. Thus it is not possible to ward off the fallacy of *Arthānthara.*

It should not be argued thus :—The counter-entity is distinct from the substratum similar to that of the knowledge possessed of itself as its attribute. Then though there is the absence of that relationship of being devoid of attributes, yet the co-extensiveness of the type stated above arises through the relationship of being devoid of attributes. Thus no mistake arises as the pot, etc. do not exist through that relationship (stated above).

It is not so. If it were so, the fallacy of *avyāpthi* arises when there is the negation of the elephant in dreams. You (*advaitin*) yourself have proved the unreality by considering the negation of the elephant in dreams and it is not right to comment upon the word, 'negation' so as to mean absolute negation. The counter-entity, namely, distinction, has not the distinguishing characteristics of the identity that supports distinction. You have not accepted the identity that supports distinction. Therefore the fallacy of *arthānthara* does arise by considering the counter-entity of the type stated above.

It should not be argued thus :—The counter-entity, namely, the distinction of that type (stated above) is not universally established. The clause, namely, 'the absolute negation' has to be introduced in order to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara*, by proving the counter-entity, that has the relationship of identity with distinction by means of the inferential reasoning (under discussion) at present.

This is not so. Its substratum is related to it through that relationship and its negation is of the form of unreality through the same relationship. Therefore, the fallacy of *arthānthara* does not arise, even though the clause, namely, 'absolute negation' is no tintroduced. There is no compulsion that the unreality is to be connected with the absolute negation. If it were so, that word (*i.e.* negation) refers to the mutual negation. It is not right to comment on that word so as to mean any other thing. You (*advaitin*) yourself have accepted that school by stating that the clause, 'mutual negation' is to be introduced. Thus in the school,

that has introduced the clause, 'mutual negation', it is not possible to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara*, by considering the counter-entity, namely, destruction.

It should not be argued thus:—The destruction can be warded off, as there is the negation with regard to time, etc.

It is not so. The counter-entity, namely, destruction, etc. that is related to time, etc. is universally established through the inferential reasoning (under discussion) at present. Thus it is not right to introduce the clause, 'The distinguishing characteristic of the relationship with the counter-entity' because the illustration does not rightly fit in with the major term. In the inferential reasoning of the particular form, pot etc. have been taken to be the illustration by considering the counter-entity of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substrata and the counter-entity of this type has not the distinguishing characteristic of that relationship.

It should not be argued thus:—The knowledge that apprehends cloth, etc. that is possessed of the attributes of pot etc. and the knowledge that apprehends the negation of the cloth in the pot are mutually opposed to each other. And those, which are mutually opposed to each other, are related to each other in a particular relationship. Therefore it is essential to think of a relationship, namely, the counter-entity of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum. The author of *Dīdhiti* has accepted as follows:—The knowledge of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum is opposed to the knowledge of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum. Therefore in the section on *Bādha* (or annulment), it is stated thus. "The inference relating to the fire is contradicted as the golden colour is apprehended by the mind. Because the negation of fire has the distinguishing characteristic of the golden colour. Thus does a fallacy arise"[47].

It is not so. Gadādhara has established the relationship of the counter-entity with the attributes subsisting in a different substratum in the same lines of argument stated above. This line

47. The inferential reasoning is thus:—The fire on the mountain has a golden colour because there is smoke.

of argument is not opposed to your (*advatic*) demonstrated conclusion. In your (*advatic*) demonstrated conclusion, the knowledge, namely, '(He) has the cloth possessed of the attributes of the pot, etc.' and the knowledge, namely, '(the mountain) has a fire of a golden colour' are both related to that which is unreal. Because you have not accepted *anyathākhyāthi*. It is right to say that the two cognitions relating to that which is unreal are opposed to the cognition relating to the negation of that which is unreal. But it is not opposed to the knowledge of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum.

It should not be argued thus :—The cognition of the attributes, which are the distinguishing characteristics of both the pot and the cloth, is opposed to the cognition of the negation whose counter-entity is the cloth possessed of the attributes of the pot. It is possible to ward off the opposion, even though the cognition of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum is opposed to the cognition of the form stated above.

It is not so. If it were so, the cognition, namely, 'He has a cloth, possessed of the attributes of the pot' is opposed to the cognition, namely, 'both the cloth and water that possess the attributes of the pot are non-existent'. In order to ward off this opposition, it is right to say that the cognition of the attributes, which are the distinguishing characteristics of both, is opposed to the cognition of the negation whose counter-entity has the distinguishing characteristic of both jointly. Thus is excluded the cognition of the negation off the attributes, subsisting in a different substratum. The negation of the cloth has for its counter-entity that which has the attributes of the pot, when the attributes of the pot are considered.

It should not be argued thus :—It is essential that the counter-entity of the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum, should have the distinguishing characteristics of both. Otherwise that cognition will not become opposed (to each other). Therefore it is not right to say that it is sublated upon as false. Yet those which are mutually related to each other are related to each other in a particular relationship, and the counter-entity too of the type stated above is universally established to have

possessed the distinguishing characteristic of that relationship. Therefore there will be no maiming of a limb of the major term.

It is not so. Even thus it is not possible to get over the maiming of a limb of a major term. In order to ward off the fallacy of *Sīddhasādhana* [*i.e.* proving the proved] in silver, etc. by considering the negation of both the silver and pot etc.[48] the clause, namely, 'The counter-entity whose distinguishing characteristics are co-extensive with those of the attribute' is to be introduced. Thus is excluded the counter-entity of the negation of the pot in the silver. The counter-entity of the type stated above has the distinguishing characteristics of both the pot and the silver, which are not co-extensive with silverness, which is the distinguishing characteristic of the attributes of the type stated above. In place of the clause, namely, 'The distinguishing characteristic of the relationship with its attribute,' the clause, namely, "Not the distinguishing characteristic of the relationship with that which is not the attribute' is introduced. Then by following the argument advanced here, it is possible to ward off the maiming of a limb of the major term as stated above. Yet there is no final escape and the silver is taken to be the truth. It is not possible to establish its (*i.e.* of the silver) substratum. In its (*i.e.* of the silver's) limbs its negation of the general kind is not apprehended. But yet is established the pot possessed of the attributes of silver. This (same thing) is also established in silver. Thus it is not possible to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara*.

It should not be argued thus :—Suppose the major term is taken to be a counter-entity possessing the distinguishing characteristics of an absolutely real nature. Then in order to ward off the mistake by considering the absolute negation of shell-silver to be an absolutely real one, the clause, namely, 'substratum similar to its form' is introduced.

It is not so. If it were so, the major term will not become universally established. Silver is taken to be the counter-entity of the negation of the pot. Because of the absence of the substratum similar to the silver. The counter-entity of the

48. *Advaitasiddhi op.* cit. P. 151.

negation, whose substratum is similar to that of the silver of an absolutely real nature, is proved to be silver, whose form is apprehended mentally. Suppose there is the major term of the absolutely real nature. There is the absence of the non-establishment of the major-term. Therefore, it is right to include in the (major term) that qualifying clause, [namely, 'Substratum similar to its form].' The negation of that, which has the distinguishing characteristic of silver, is not co-extensive with that which is possessed of the attributes of silver, that are common to the parts that constitute the silver. The best suggestion is that in shell-silver is proved the major term by considering the counter-entity of the negation of the type stated above.

Then silverness is taken to be the counter-entity of the negation of the pot taken as a whole. It is not right to say that silver (is the counter-entity). Therefore there is no place for the fallacy of *arthānthara* by considering the counter-entity of the type stated above. The fallacy of *arthānthara* arises (1) by taking silver to be the counter-entity of the negation of silver or the pot or (2) by taking silver to be the counter-entity of negation of both the silver and the pot.

It is not the first. In the school of those who accept the reality (of the universe) there is the absence of the negation of the general kind of silver or the absence of negation of either of the objects stated above in silver; because there is the negation of the co-extensiveness of the knowledge having silver as its attribute. If this (co-extensiveness) is here proved, then it is not possible to ward off the destruction of reality in silver.

It is not the second. Here it should not be argued thus:—'The conclusion is that the major term is of the form of the counter-entity of the type stated above, because there is the absence of the notion of many unities. Therefore it is possible to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara* by considering the negation of both the type stated above or by considering the relationship of the attributes of the major term.'

It is not so. If it were so, the two attributes become the attributes of the major term of the absolutely real nature. Here, it will not be possible to ward off the use

of the clause, namely, 'substratum similar to itself.' Even if the clause is introduced, it is not possible for the pot to be the counter-entity of the negation of the shell-silver taken as a whole, when absolute reality is considered. In absolute reality the counter-entity of the negation of one of them, namely, the pot or the shell-silver, is not co-extensive with that whose attribute is potness, that is common to the broken pieces of the pot, etc. The counter-entity, namely, the notion of many unities, is taken to be one of absolutely positive inferential reasoning in the case of absolute reality. And it is stated that the fallacy of *arthānthara* does not arise by considering the negation of both the pot and the silver. The counter-entity of both the negations of the type stated above, exists in a substratum similar to that of the pot. Therefore by including the said qualifying clause, that is stated above, it is not possible to ward off the fallacy (of *arthānthara*).

Suppose the fallacy (of *arthānthara*) can be warded off by including the clause, namely, 'The substratum similar to that of the two objects, which are distinct from each other in their natural properties.' Then it is right to prove the major term through the relationship of distinction (of objects according to their natural properties).

In the first case, the clause, 'substratum similar to that' is not introduced, as there is the fear of the major term not being universally established. Therefore the qualifying clause, 'the absence of the counter-entity of the negation of that possessing the distinguishing characteristic of silverness' is to be introduced into the subject, in order to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara* when the negation of both the silver and the pot is considered in silver. Consider the second case, where the major term is taken to be one of absolutely real nature. Then by introducing the clause, 'substratum similar to that', the major term will become established, by considering the pot that is perceived mentally. Therefore it will be simpler to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara* by including the clause, 'substratum similar to that'. It will become complex to introduce the qualifying clause of the type stated above to the probandum. The absolute reality becomes simpler by introducing the qualifying

clause, namely, 'substratum similar to that'. Thus the fallacy of *arthānthara* is warded off by considering the counter-entity of the negation of the shell-silver. Hence both the cases have been refuted.

In both cases it is possible to ward off the fallacy of *arthānthara* by proving the major term through the relationship of the distinction of the objects according to their natural properties, and it is not right to introduce a qualifying clause for the same purpose. If the major term is explained as in the first case, then it is not possible to ward off the fallacy of *asrayāsiddhi* in the subject by including the qualifying clause. In the school of those, who accept the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum silver is universally established to be the negation of both the silver and the pot. You yourself (*advaitin*) have accepted the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum. The counter-entity of the negation of this type is not found to exist in silver. And the fallacy of *ananyāsraya* (*i.e.* Reciprocal dependence) arises if the major term is taken to be one of absolute reality; because the absolute reality is of the form of the negation of unreality. The fallacy of *regressus ad infinitum* arises; because it is stated that what is absolutely real is negated upon by that which has a form of absolutely real nature. Otherwise the universe is granted to be one of absolute reality, that has been superimposed upon it. Here (in the universe) the negation of that (absolute reality) is not possible to be arrived at. Consider the school namely, 'Suppose one is related to another through a certain relationship or through a certain form. Then consider only the negation of that relationship.' Then in that school in order to prove the major term by considering the negation of the attributes subsisting in a different substratum the subject of the type stated above is to be accepted. Then suppose the universe has superimposed on it the absolute reality. Then its (*i.e.* of the absolute reality) negation does not exist (in the universe) in its essential nature.

(*To be continued*).

ICONOGRAPHY OF ŚRĪ VIDYĀRṆAVA TANTRA

By S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Page 18.)

S'ĀKTA IMAGES

Lakṣmī—on eight petalled lotus, 4 elephants pouring with amṛta ghaṭas, 4 hands—2 padmas, abhaya, vara.

Durgā—pītāmbara, crescent, 2 uppermost hands—śaṁkha, cakra, 2 lower—sword and shield, 2 lower—arrow and bow, 2 lower—s'ūla and tarjanī mudrā,—according to Is'āna S'iva.

Jaya Durgā—on simha, left up discus, right up dara, right lower sword, left lower rujā (tris'ūla). Or from right up to right lower.

Śūlinī Durgā—on lion, 3 eyes, 8 hands from right lower to left lower—s'ūla, bāṇa, sword, ari, dara, mace, bow, pās'a, 4 attendant goddesses holding sword and shield.

Vindhyavāsinī—with discus, dara, sword, mace, arrow, bow, tris'ikha and pās'a.

Vana Durgā—from right up ari, dara, vara, abhaya, 3 eyes, seated on lotus, with lion.

According to Nārāyaṇīya :—black, leg on buffalo's head, on a lion ; cakra, s'aṁkha, sword, shield, arrow, bow, tarjanī, tris'ūla in upper hands, skull, ṛṣṭika, musala, kunta, nandaka, gadā, bhiṇḍivāla, s'akti in lower hands.

Or—on eight petal lotus, from right lower—s'ūla, bāṇa, cakra, s'aṁkha,sword, shield, bow, skull.

Mahālakṣmī— 1,000 or 18 arms; from right lower rosary, lotus, arrow, sword, musala, mace, cakra, tris'ūla, paras'u, s'aṁkha, ghaṇṭa, pās'a, s'akti, daṇḍa, carma, bow, cup, kamaṇḍalu ; seated on lotus.

Mahākāḷī—Black, 10 heads with 3 eyes each, 10 arms, 10 legs—sword, arrow, mace, trident, cakra, pās'a, bhusuṇḍi, parigha, bow, skull.

Mahā Sarasvatī—born out of the body of Gaurī. 8 arms—arrow, musala, cakra, trident, s'aṁkha, plough (lāngala), bell, bow.

Jātavēdasē Dēvī—left hands s'aṁkha, shield, arrow and abhaya; right—bow, cakra, cup, vara. Or (?) upper hands—cakra, sword, arrow, trident, lōhamuṣṭi, tōmara, valaya, bhinḍivāla, parigha, aṁkus'a; 3 eyes.

Rudra Durgā—on a lion, followed by tiger, 4 attendants with sword and shield. 8 arms—cakra, mace, sword, shield, arrow, bow, pās'a, tarjanī; 3 eyes, crescent.

Lavaṇa Durgā—red, 3 eyes on red lotus, 4 arms—sruva, s'akti, vara, abhaya.

Yāmavatī—black dress, kapāla, pās'a, aṁkus'a, s'ūla, or aṁkus'a, pās'a, s'ūla, kapāla.

Bhīmā Durgā—Black, crescent, 3 eyes, ari, s'aṁkha, s'ūla and khaṭvānga in hands.

Bhadra Kāḷī—yellow, up right hair, canines, crescent, 4 hands—ṭanka, kapāla, ḍamaru, tris'ūla. Or kapāla, paras'u, ḍamaru, tris'ūla.

Kātyāyanī—3 eyes, 4 hands—cakra, s'aṁkha, sword, trident.

Annapūrṇā—golden colour, crescent, 3 eyes, looking at dancing S'iva, worshipped by Bhū and S'rī, left hand cup and right spoon or reverse.

As'vārūḍhā—3 eyes, with left hand binding infatuated Sādhya, right holding vētra yaṣṭi. Or in Tantra rāja, red, on red horse, 3 eyes, 4 arms right up bhalla, left-caturmuṣṭi, 2 hands binding the Sādhyaka's throat with noose; he beaten by gold rod falls at her feet with folded hands.

Gaurī—4 hands—left up mirror, right up anjana s'alāka, right lower pās'a, left lower aṁkus'a. But in Prapanca s'āra of S'aṁkara — 4 hands— pās'a, aṁkus'a, mirror and s'alāka.

Padmāvatī—on lotus, 3 eyes, holding 2 red lotuses.

Jyēṣṭhā—on lotus, red clothes, 4 arms—kalaśa, golden pot, pās'a and aṁkus'a.

Tripuṭā—S'rīm, Hrīm, Klīm. 3 eyes, on ṣaṭkōṇa, 6 hands—2 lotuses, pās'a, aṁkus'a, bow, arrow. Or, red colour, 4 hands—pās'a, aṁkus'a, bow, arrow.

Nityā klinnā—red clothes, 3 eyes, crescent, 4 arms—pās'a, aṁkus'a, cup, abhaya; on a lotus. Or—flower arrow, pās'a, aṁkus'a, sugar cane bow, on a lotus.

Trailōkya mōhanā—on 8 petal lotus, 6 arms, from, left up—pās'a, aṁkus'a, kalpavalli, skull and two hands with vīṇa.

Sammōhanā—red, red clothes, 3 eyes, crescent, right lower lotus, upper pās'a, left up sṛṇi, lower skull.

Vanhivāsinī—3 eyes, 8 arms; red lotus, s'aṁkha, sugar-cane bow, full moon in left hands, kalhāra, hēma-s'rṁga, flower arrow and mātulumga in right hands.

Vajra prastāriṇī—or Vajrēs'varī—red, red clothes, 3 eyes, 4 arms with pās'a, aṁkus'a, sugar-cane bow and pomegranate flower arrow.

Vāgvādinī klinnā—as above.

S'ivadūtī—Red clothes, 3 eyes, 8 arms—left pās'a, shield, mace, jewel cup; right—aṁkus'a, sword; Kalhāra, lotus.

Tvaritā—with peacock crest, umbrella and flag made of peacock feathers, gunjā garland, abhaya hastas.

Bhayaharā—left cakra, right s'aṁkha.

Mahāmāyā—3 eyes, on a lion, naked, near a jewelled pillar, 4 arms—right up sword, lower rosary, left up abhaya, lower vara.

Trailōkya stambhanī—pītāmbara, crescent, gold throne, 4 hands, right lower mudgara, right up pās'a, left lower jihvā, left up vajraka.

Bagalāmukhī—or Brahmāstra Vidyā; pītāmbara, on simhāsana, holding mudgara, and vairijihvā, left—

s'atrupīḍana, right—gadā. Or—2 armed with s'ilā and parvata. Or—on lotus, crescent, on simhāsana, 4 arms left up aṁkus'a, lower vara, rosary and lotus. Or—from right hands pās'a, abhaya, rosary, lotus; on pancaprēta.

Kāḷī varieties—Kāḷikā—S'yāmā, dishevelled hair, naked, 4 arms—left up skull, lower sword, right lower abhaya, right up vara; with muṇḍamālā, corpses as ear ornaments, canines, hands of corpses as waist-band, trampling on corpse of Mahādēva or Mahākāḷa. Or—in midst of funeral fire, serpent upavīta, 4 arms—skull, sword, vara, abhaya.

Kāḷika—(according, to Kāḷīmāta) ēkajaṭa, muṇḍamālā, nāgahāra, black clothes and tiger skin, left foot on corpse, right on lion which licks 2 corpses, 4 arms—right sword and 2 lotuses (?), left kartrī and karpara.

Guhya Kāḷī—like Dakṣiṇā.

Bhadra Kāḷī—black, black clothes, canines, smiling, nāgōpavīta, crescent, ēkajaṭa, on nāgas'ayyā, garland of 50 skulls, 1,000 headed Ananta over head, snakes on all sides and over arms—Takṣaka on left wrist, Ananta on right wrist, 2 hands, corpses as ear ornaments, serpent round waist.

Tārā—cursed by Vasiṣṭha—Ēkajaṭā—pratyālīḍha posture, muṇḍamālā, short, heavy stomach, vyāghracarma, 4 hands—left, sword and kartrī, right, skull and lotus. Akṣobhya on head; white bones as paṭṭika on forehead; on a corpse.

Ugra Tārā—Pratyālīḍha on corpse, 4 hands with sword, lotus, kartrī, skull; hair blue and yellow with serpents.

Yōginīs of Tārā—Mahākāḷī, Rudrāṇī, Bhayā, (Umā), Bhīmā, Ghōrā, Bhramarī, Mahārātrī, Saptamī, Aṣṭamī, Bhairavī.

Nīla Sarasvatī—crescent, one leg on pas'u, 4 hands—bell, skull, s'ūla, sword; Or on a naukā (boat), snake

ornaments, 4 hands with kartrī, skull, cup, tris'ūla, muṇḍamālā, 3 eyes.

Vāgvādinī—Citrēs'varī, Kulajā, Kīrtīs'varī, Antarikṣa Sarasvātī, Ghaṭa Sarasvatī, Nīlā, Kiṇi Sarasvātī.

Aṣta Tārās—(according to Māyā Tantra)—Tārā, Ugrā, Mahōgrā, Vajrā, Nīlā, Sarasvātī, Kāmēs'varī, Bhadra kāḷī. Tārā—dark, 3 eyes, 2 arms with 2 lotuses, 2 feet on jewelled sandals.

Gāyatrī—Red, 4 faces, 4 hands—daṇḍa, kuṇḍika, rosary, abhaya.

Sāvitrī—yellow, 4 faces, 4 hands—cakra, s'aṁkha, mace, lotus.

Sarasvatī—white, 3 eyes, 4 hands—ṭanka, rosary, abhaya, vara.

Bhuvanēśvarī—3 eyes, crescent, 2 hands—left with jewelled cup, right—lotus, left foot on jewelled pot. Or—4 hands—right lower vara, upper lotus, left up—jewel cup, left lower—abhaya, seated on red lotus, crescent; Or—4 hands right up aṁkus'a, right lower vara, right up pās'a, lower abhaya.

Bhairavī—Tripura°: red clothes, skull garland, rosary, vidyā, abhaya, vara; on a lotus, 3 eyes, crescent.

Sampatpradā°—crescent, skull garland, 3 eyes, red clothes, left—book, abhaya; right—rosary and vara.

Kaulēśa bhairavī,—Bhaya Vidhvamsinī, Sakala Siddhidā°, Caitanya°, Kamēs'varī°, Ṣaṭkūṭa°, Bhōga mōkṣadā-nityā°, Rudrā°, Bhuvanēśvarī°.

Caitanya°—crescent, red clothes, right—pāśa, aṁkuśa, left—skull and vara.

Ṣaṭkūṭa°—reddish, skull garland, 4 hands—pāśa, aṁkuśa, book, rosary.

Rudra°—crescent, 3 eyes, skull garland, red clothes, on śava simhāsana; 10 arms—triśūla, ḍamaru, sword, shield, pināka, śara, pāśa, aṁkuśa, book, rosary.

Annapūrṇēśvarī° — crescent, citravastra, 3 eyes; looking at white, five faced S'iva dancing; worshipped by Bhū, S'rī—giving food.

Chinna mastā :—Pracaṇḍa çaṇḍikā-in the sun's disc, holding own head in left hand, hanging tongue, drinking blood gushing from her own throat, right hand—Kartrī ; skull garland, naked, pratyālīḍha, snake upavīta, feet over infatuated Kāma ; girl of 16. To the left Ḍākini, right—Varṇinī—12 years old, naked, drinking the Dēvi's blood, holding skull and Karṭrī or sword and kartrī.

Dhūmāvātī—dark clothes, dishevelled hair, vidhavā, drooping breasts, holding śūrpa and dhvaja, on Kāka-dhvajaratha, quarrelsome, long nose (or hair on body).

Bhadra Kāḷī—starved, sunken eyes, blackened face, dishevelled hair, weeping (smiling), black teeth, not satisfied with food, threatening to swallow the whole world, 2 hands holding 2 pāśas. (S'maśāṇa Kāḷī according to Kāḷikā tantra).

Mahā Kāḷī—5 faces, 3 eyes each, snake-ornament, 8 arms, right śakti, śūla, bow, arrow, left shield, sword, vara, abhaya. Surrounded by Aṣṭamātṛs (7+Caṇḍikā). Or—on lion, skull garland, 4 arms—flame, śilādaṇḍa, cakra, s'aṁkha. (?).

S'mas'āṇa Bhairavī—devouring corpses.

Jvālāmālinī—surrounded by vultures.

Kamalākṣī (for ākarṣaṇa)—3 eyes, crescent, right—lotus left—rosary.

Kākatuṇḍī—with white beak.

Yakṣiṇis—Madhumatī—on maṇīpīṭha, 2 lotuses in 2 hands.

Kumārikā—2 hands—vara, abhaya.

Vandī Dēvī—dark, vara, abhaya, pānapātra, bandhamōcana.

Vaṭa yakṣiṇī—red clothes, black, residing in Vaṭa, 2 hands—betel leaves and areca nuts.

Madana mēkhalā—in campakavana, on simhāsana, red clothes.

Vis'ālā—for long life.

Mātangī—Rājamātangī—in nectar ocean, ratna dvīpa, ratna maṇṭapa, ratna simhāsana, 8 petal-lotus ; dark,

kadambamālā, crescent, young, 2 arms with S'uka, s'ārika (?); or yellow colour. Or—with Rati on right and Prīti on left; holding pāśa and aṁkuśa; white or dark; or—6 hands—sugar-cane bow, flower arrows, guṇa, sṛṇi, abhaya, vara; Or—with Lakṣmī—padmā or cinmudrā, book, bow and arrow. Or—dark, with mirror, ratna dīpa, fan, betel creeper, whisk, parasol, śuka, śārikā, jewel cup, vīṇa, tālavṛnta; Or—4 hands—pāśa, aṁkus'a, vara, abhaya; Or—sword, shield, s'ūla, skull; Or—pās'a, aṁkus'a, lotus and paddy-ears. Or—gold cup, jewel cup, vara, abhaya.

Mātangī—on jewelled throne, blue, with s'uka and s'ārikā; vīṇā in hānds, black dress holding vīṇā; Vēṇī on amsa, holding vīṇā.

Gaurī—Gāndhārī, Jayā, Vijayā, Pārvatī—3 eyes, crescent, pās'a, aṁkus'a.

Sumukhī
Uccisṭa caṇḍāli } on a corpse, gunjā garland, 2 hands—skull and sword. Or—red clothes, with viṇā in hand, s'ūla.

Bhuvana Bhayaṁkarī—black, on simha; 3 eyes, black dress, 4 hands—triśūla, cakra, cup, Khaṭvānga (according to Aus'anasa Tantra and Cyavana). Or on elephant.

ārāhī—Nigraha°—on lotus, boar-face, black, with garland of *ruṇḍa* and *muṇḍa*, 4 hands—plough, musala, vara, abhaya.

Dhūmra°—Grey, devouring pas'u—enemy, boar face.

Astra°—Grey, devouring pas'u—enemy, boar face.

Pancamī, Vārtālī.

Svapna Vārāhī°—nīla, on a horse, earth on tip of canine, 4 hands—pās'a, aṁkus'a, sword, shield.

Śavarī—Red, binding sādhya with pās'a.

Karṇapiśacī—on citāsana, muṇḍamālā; under a Badarī tree appears; wearing corpse and bone garland. Or—short, red eyes, dark, big stomach, red tongue, 4 hands—vara, abhaya, 2 skulls, on a corpse.

Svapnēśvarī—white, on golden throne, 4 hands with vara, abhaya, 2 lotuses.

Śītalā—red clothes, black (naked ?), on a donkey, 2 hands with s'ūrpa and mārjanikā.

Kāḷarātrī—red, 4 arms—right—linga and vara, left—bhuvana and adhōdaṇḍa, 3 eyes, dishevelled hair, peacock feathers on head, madanāturā.

S'*āradā*—on simhāsana, 3 eyes, 6 arms—lotus, prāsa, s'ūla, kalas'a, Vyūhaka pās'a ; Or—s'ūla, prāsa, padma, pās'a, kalas'a (vara ?).

VAIṢṆAVA IMAGES

Nārāyaṇa (?) pītāmbara, from left lower cakra, dara, gadā, lotus—left up. S'rī, Bhū and S'āraṅga. Or-padma, s'aṁkha, gadā, cakra.

Kēs'ava—right lower—lotus, upper s'aṁkha, left lower cakra.

Vāsudēva—(white), Saṁkarṣaṇa (yellow), Pradyumna (black) Aniruddha (blue)—all with pītāmbara, dara, cakra, gadā, padma. Nārāyaṇa with Bhāratī, S'rī, and Bhū—according to Mahākapila Pāncarātra, 8 arms, on Garuḍa, white—for destroying poison, disease and death.

Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa—(according to Rudra yāmaḷā),—pītāmbara, lotus, with Lakṣmī, 4 arms. Vāsudēva—in milk ocean, under Kalpa tree, on ratna manca, white, pītāmbara, 4 hands—left up mace, right up cakra, right lower—lotus, left lower—s'aṁkha. According to *Hayas'īrṣa Pāncarātra*—right up cakra, lower lotus, left up mace, lower—s'aṁkha.

Lakṣmī Vāsudēva :—white, embracing S'rī who holds left mirror, jewel pot and likhita and kamala. The god—lotus, mace, s'aṁkha, cakra.

Harihara—(as Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa)—half white, half black, 4 hands—right up s'ūla, discus, right lower s'aṁkha, abhaya.

Dadhi Vāmana—according to *Sārasaṁgraha*—white, on white lotus under white umbrella, embraced by S'rī

and Bhū; 2 hands—left—cup of rice and curd, right—golden nectar pot.

Yajñēs'vara Vāmana—white, on lotus, 4 arms with daṇḍa, nectar-pot, curd-rice with pickles and gold cup.

Bhōga Vāmana—as above.

Hayagrīva—according to *Sārasaṁgraha*—white, on white lotus, horse-face, 4 hands from right up to right lower—rosary, lotus, book, abhaya. Or—4 arms—left up conch, right up cakra, 2 hands on jānu; horse faced; with the Vēdas around—

Ṛg Vēda—white, ass face, 2 arms with rosary, abhaya.

Yajur Vēda—yellow, goat face, 2 arms with rosary, Kulis'a,

Sāma Vēda—blue, horse face, 2 arms with rosary, Kumbha,

Atharva Vēda—white, monkey face, 2 arms with rosary, Kumbha.

For poetic ability—horse face, on lotus, 4 hands from right lower to left upper—lotus, rosary, book and vara.

Varāha Ādi°—(S'vēta°) 8 arms, right up cakra, left up s'aṁkha, below them in order, right up sword, left, shield; right, mace, left, s'akti; right, vara, left, abhaya; with Bhū on damṣṭra. Or—black, emerging from sea, Bhū on white damṣṭra.

Varāha—seated on lotus, black, black face, Bhū on lap, 4 hands from left up to right up—s'aṁkha, mace, lotus, cakra; surrounded by Bhū, S'rī, Rati and Kāntī who hold shield and sword.

Bhūdēvī—dark, on lotus, 4 arms—2 lotuses, paddy-ears, and s'uka from left up to left lower.

Sudarśana—8 arms right up cakra, left up dara, 2 lower—mace, lotus, 2 lower musala, bow; 2 lower pās'a and sṛṇi (*i.e.* aṁkus'a). Rathapada Hari, with fierce canines and cakra mudrā.

Śrīkara Viṣṇu—from left lower—mace, lotus, upper—s'aṁkha, cakra.

Trailōkya Sammōhanā / *Mahā Sammōhanā* } Puruṣōttama—red, 4 hands—from left up to left lower—s'aṁkha, cakra, gadā, padma

(cf. *Rūpamaṇḍana*. Ch III. v. 66-2. 16 arms, 4 faces of man Narasimha, boar, woman ; on Garuḍa—See below Kṛṣṇa).

Hṛṣīkēśa—on Garuḍa, white, 4 hands—left up to left lower s'aṁkha, cakra, gadā, padma.

Śrīdhara—in milk ocean, on lotus, and Garuḍa. 4 hands—ari, dara, gadā, kamala.

Acyuta, *Ananta*, *Gōvinda* } together (?)—4 hands, on garuḍa, with S'rī and Bhū, s'aṁkha, cakra, abhaya, vara.

Nṛsimha—Ugra° :—2 hands on jānu, 3 eyes, right up cakra left up s'aṁkha, 2 hands (?) holding Daitya's teeth and tongue.

S'ānta° :—with Lakṣmī on left lap who embraces him with right and holds lotus in left hand.

For stambhana—black clothes, golden body, s'aṁkha, cakra.

For Vas'ya—sindūra colour, lotus, mace, conch, discus.

For māraṇa—black, 3 eyes, entrail garland, tearing Daitya's heart, 4 arms—conch, disc, mace, sword.

For uççātana—blue, s'aṁkha, cakra, mace, loppa daṇḍa.

For ākarṣaṇa—with his goddess, conch, disc, sword, pās'a.

For puṣṭi—s'abala colour, 3 eyes, conch, disc, mace, abhaya.

For treasure—with Lakṣmī, conch, cakra, mace, nidhi.

For vidyā—white, pītāmbara, pās'a, aṁkus'a in upper and conch and shield in lower hands.

For every purpose—with Lakṣmī, 8 arms—right, discus, sword mahāpadma, musala ; left, conch, shield, mace, bow. Lakṣmī stands right, Tuṣṭi on left.

For Krūra Karma—as Rudra—entrail garland, snake upavīta, five faces, with crescents, blue neck, 3 eyes in each face, 10 arms—rosary, mace, lotus, conch, bow, musala, discus, sword, s'ūla, arrow.

For averting disease—16 arms --2 tearing ; 2 lifting entrails, 2 s'aṁkha, cakra ; 2 bāṇa and cāpa ; 2 sword and shield, 2 mace and lotus, 2 pās'a and aṁkus'a, 2 on the head of the enemy.

For big undertakings—Right side-2, cakra and sword, 2, paraśu,

pāśa, 2, hala, musala, 2, abhaya, aṁkuśa, 2, paṭṭiśa, bhindivāla, 2, Khēṭa, tōmara, 1, mudgara. Left side—conch, sword; pās'a, s'ūla; agni and vara, s'akti, kuṇḍikā; bow, tarjanī mudrā; mace, ḍamaru; one—sarpa; 2 hands on the enemy's jānu, 2 on head, 2 on feet, 2 up-lifted holding entrails, 2 lower tearing=36 hands.

For destroying fear, poison, death and mukharōga—on Garuḍa, 3 eyes, pītāmbara, 4 hands—discus, conch, abhaya, vara; Or—red, 3 eyes, canines, 8 arms, from right up—discus, conch, guṇa, sṛṇi, Kulis'a, mace and 2 in dāraṇa mudrā.

For curing fevers—3 eyes, mane, 4 hands from left up to left lower—conch, disc, sword, shield.

Lakṣmī Nṛsimha—on S'ēṣā's hood, with serpent hoods over head, white, embracing Lakṣmī; 4 hands—dara, ari, kamala, abhaya from right lower to left lower.

Jvālā Nṛsimha } for exorcising demons, fevers.

Sudaraśana Nṛsimha } on cakrāsana, 4 hands holding 4 cakras; 3 eyes, open mouth.

Śrī Rāma—On padmāsana near Sarayū, dark, in vīrāsana with jñāna mudrā. Or—on puṣpa latāsana, embraced by Sītā, holding vyajana, Lakṣmaṇa with arrow sheath; Or—with jaṭā; Or with Lakṣmaṇa holding parasol; Or—seated in puṣpaka. Or—as S'iva with Kaparda, s'ūla, 3 eyes and crescent; with bow and arrow, or with Sītā on left, Lakṣmaṇa on right, on puṣpaka simhāsana, jaṭāmakuṭa.

Sītā Bhagavatī—(?) with crescent, 4 arms—pās'a, aṁkuśa, bow, arrow; 3 eyes.

Hanumant as Rudra mūrti—white, with Kuṇḍalas, 2 hands in añjali in front of Rāma or S'iva, on 8 petal lotus; with *Kaupīna*, making fierce noices like kinkila, bhumbhuka, etc.

Gōpāla—on yōga pīṭha and 8 petal—red loṭus, Kṛṣṇa, with mayūra pincha, utpala karṇapūra, kaustubha, s'rīvatsa, pītāmbara, feet marked with svastika, etc. holding flute, gōpis dancing, cows.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa—on ratna simhāsana, padmāsana, janghās near kaṭi, blue, child adorned with tiger-claw, holding butter lump, surrounded by gōpī, gōpāla and gō : in the morning worship.

Midday--blue, mayūra pincha, ratnakuṇḍala, pītāmbara, vanamāla etc ; right hand—vēṇu, left—s'aṁkha and vētra.

Afternoon—evening or night :—In Dvāraka in a maṇṭapa in midst of a tank, seated on lotus, with makuṭa, pītāmbara, 4 arms — dara, ari, gadā, padma, surrounded by 16,000 wives or ṛṣis to whom he is imparting instruction.

Advaitārtha vicārēṇa munivaryēbhya tu |
ātmarūpam param tējō diśantam mantra gauravāt ||

Bāla Kṛṣṇa—as in the lap of mother or as dancing on the hoods of Kāḷiya ; or blue, with vyāghra nakha, holding in left curds and right—rice mixed with milk.

Kṛṣṇa—as woman, pītāmbara, dark, 4 hands right up—sphaṭika rosary, left up—book and 2 hands playing on the flute which is S'abda Brahmaika vēṇu. (Cp. Kṛṣṇa=S'aṁkara in *Rūpa maṇḍana*).

Kṛṣṇa—left hand, gold rod, right—embracing Rukmiṇī on his lap. Rukminī's left hand—lotus.

Kṛṣṇa—with S'ikhipincha, left vēṇu, right—stick and pās'a among cows.

Kṛṣṇa—on ratna simhāsana in midst of cows ; right—stick, left—s'aṁkha ; to his right Rukmiṇī, left Satyabhāmā, front, Indra and Surabhī ; Gods pouring amṛta from pots. Viṣvaksēna and 8 Lōkapālas—Kumuda, Kumudākṣa, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, S'ankukarṇa, Sarvanētra, Sumukha and Supratiṣṭhita.

Kṛṣṇa—as five years old—blue, with Yas'ōdā, surrounded by Rukmiṇī, Satyā, Lakṣmaṇā, Jāmbavatī.

Kṛṣṇa—as Bāla Gōpāla—on a lotus, blue, Rurunakha on throat, two hands—butter and pāyasa.

Kṛṣṇa—Under Kalpavṛkṣa, on gold swing, eating curds and pāyasa.

Kṛṣṇa—On simhāsana, 8 arms—embracing left Rukmiṇī, right Satyā, lotus, mace, discus, conch and 2 hands, holding a flute near the mouth.

Santāna Gōpāla—restoring dead son to the Brāhmaṇa, 4 arms—left up conch, discus, mace, lotus, pītāmbara, mayūra pincha ; Or—child on a red lotus on lap, being embraced by the would-be mother. (*Putratvēna vibhavayēn muraripum putrārthinī, kāminī*).

Jagatsammōhana Kṛṣṇa—In Vṛndāvana on ratna simhāsana, feet on left shoulder of Garuḍa, 8 arms—from right up to lower in order—cakra, s'aṁkha, sṛṇi, pās'a, flower-arrow, sugar-cane bow, lotus, mace ; on left lap Lakṣmī embracing him and holding sugar-cane bow, in white clothes.

Trailōkya mōhana°—(as above) But in Rūpamaṇḍana (Ch. III, 60-2) 16 arms, right; mace, disc, goad, arrow, śakti, cakra (?) vara; pestle, noose, bow, conch, lotus, pot, horn—2 hands in yōga mudra, 4 faces.

Kāma°—red, red clothes, on red lotus, 4 hands from left up to left lower—pās'a, aṁkus'a, sugar-cane bow, flower arrows.

Praṇava °—as Hari, on lotus, 4 arms—discus (left lower), s'aṁkha, lotus, mace (right lower).

Kārtavīrya—according to Uḍḍāmarēs'vara Tantra—golden garland, red clothes and turban, 500 hands with bows, 500 with arrows, seated in a chariot, surrounded by heroes with swords, shields, bows and arrows.

11 varieties: In Māhiṣmatī, sporting in the waters of Rēvā ; Rāvaṇa in prison ; in Durbar on ratna simhāsana, with bow, arrow, armour, sword, pās'a etc. surrounded by ministers ; or in a chariot drawn by 1,000 horses, surrounded by the army ; Or—on a white elephant ; or with 1,000 lotuses in

hands, or in yōga on a lotus. Or—red clothed, red eyed, on black elephant and cakra, arrow, bow, musala, sword, kuṭhāra, pās'ā, prāsa, shield, s'aṁkha in each hundred hands from right up.

SAURA IMAGES

Sūrya—on lotus, red, with Kuṇḍalas, 2 lotuses in upper hands, abhaya and dāna ; or 2 red lotuses, vara abhaya, 3 eyes—as female, crescent on head, 4 hands from right up to right lower aṁkus'a, guṇa, vara, abhaya, cool body ; Viṣ'vēs'ikā Bhuvanēs'varī ; Or—on red lotus, 3 eyes, 4 hands—2 lotuses, vara, abhaya ; Or—as Ardhanārīs'vara, 4 hands—guṇa, ṭanka abhaya, vara ; on a red lotus.

as Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava—5 mūrtis :—Sūrya, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Ravi, Divākara ; 3 eyes, gold-yellow-red colour, pearl necklace, 8 arms — right up Khaṭvānga, ari, guṇa, rosary, lotus ; left upper—s'akti, aṁkus'a, Kapāla and embracing S'akti. Or 4 faces—3 eyes each.

Candra—on white lotus, pearl necklace, 2 hands, left, white lotus, right, vara ; with black spot, with S'aktis Rōhiṇī, Kṛttikā, Rēvatī, Bharaṇī, Rātrī, Ārdrā, Jyōtsnā with anjalī hastas.

Kuja—red clothes, left hand on jānu, right, abhaya.

Budha—yellow clothes, left hand on jānu, right abhaya.

Guru—Golden clothes, right hand pointing to jewel and gold cloth, left to vastu rās'i ;

Śukra—White clothes, right hands, svarṇa bhāṇḍa, left, cinmudrā.

Śani—Blue clothes, left hand on jānu, right, abhaya.

Rāhu—Grey clothes, serpent body, anjalī hasta, red eyes.

Kētu—Black clothes, hand on left thigh, and abhaya.

Agni—3 faces, 6 hands—s'akti, svastika, pās'a, aṁkus'a, vara, abhaya ; or 8 hands—s'akti, svastika, darbhā, rosary; sruva, sruk, abhaya, vara, with gold garland. With 9 S'aktis — Pītā, S'vētā, Aruṇā, Dhūmrā, Tīvrā, Sphulinginī, Rucirā, Jvālinī, (?). Or—Agni

like a horse born out of Hēmās'vatha, shedding from flame-like hair dhana, dhānya etc.

S'AIVA IMAGES

S'iva—white, crescent, five faces, 3 eyes each, tiger skin, 4 hands—right up paras'u (ṭanka), lower—vara left up—deer, lower abhaya, seated on lotus. Or—red colour, 4 hands—right up s'ūla, lower—vara, left up skull, lower, abhaya; 3 eyes, on his left thigh Pārvatī embracing, with left—red lotus.

Sadās'iva—Five faces, 3 eyes each, crescent, jaṭāmakuṭa, seated on lotus, white, 10 arms—right tris'ikha, ṭanka, vajra, sword, fire; left—sarpa, bell, sṛṇi, pās'a, and abhaya. Or—one face, 4 hands, right up ṭanka, lower vara, left up—deer left lower on Pārvatī on left thigh. 5 aspects as āvaraṇa dēvatas :—

West. Sadyōjāta—4 faces, 3 eyes each, 4 hands—Vēda, rosary, abhaya, vara.

North. Vāmadēva—4 faces, 3 eyes each, 4 hands—abhaya, vara, ṭanka, rosary.

South. Aghōra—4 faces, 3 eyes each, 8 hands,—rosary, Vēda, pās'a, aṁkus'a, ḍamaru, khaṭvānga, tris'ikha, skull.

East. Tatpuruṣa—4 faces, 3 eyes each, 4 hands,—viṣa, vara, abhaya, axe, nāgōpavīta.

Centre. Īs'āna—5 faces, 3 eyes each, 10 arms,—rosary, Vēda, pās'a, aṁkus'a, ḍamaru, khaṭvānga, tris'ūla, skull, abhaya, vara.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti—Vaṭa tree at foot of Himālaya, ratna simhāsana; white, crescent in jaṭāmakuṭa, vīrāsana, 3 eyes, concentrated on tip of nose, seated on white lotus, 4 hands—right up ṭanka, lower, vyākhyā mudrā, left up deer, lower on left jānu. Snake ornament, surrounded by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, S'uka, Jābāli, Nārada, Vyāsa.

Or—on white lotus, crescent and Gangā on head, 3 eyes, nāgābharaṇa, 4 hands—right up pearl

rosary, lower—Jñāna mudrā, left up sudhākumbha, lower, book, right foot on sahasrāra. 8 S'aktis—Pārvati, Subhagā, Bhadrā, Kriyā, S'ānti, Raudrī, Kāḷi and Vallabhā, Or, under Nyagrōdha, maṇikirīṭa, pearl necklace, 4 hands—mudrā, book, fire, serpent.

Mṛtyuṁjaya—on white lotus, white, crescent, kaparda, 3 eyes 4 hands, right up Jñāna mudrā, lower, rosary, left up pās'a, lower, Vēda.

As, Aghōrāstra dēvatā—black, canines, 3 eyes, 4 hands from right up ḍamaru, shield, bow, skull; in Kāmya—red, in abhicāra, red, in nigraha and bhukti-mukti—pearl white.

Paśupati—see *ante*.

Nīlakaṇṭha—for poisons—golden, crescent, snake ornament, 4 hands, right up rosary, right lower s'ūla, left up—skull, lower, khaṭvānga, five faces, 3 eyes each, tiger skin, seated on lotus. Or, 4 faces, east white, north yellow, west red, south black, 4 hands right lower abhaya, up vara, left up bow, lower Vāsuki (?), Gaurī on side.

Cintāmaṇi—as Ardhanārīs'vara ; left reddish body, throat blue, snake, Gangā and crescent on head, pleasing left half, fierce right half, separated garments, adorned with mālā and lēpa ; 4 hands—left up pās'a, lower-lotus, right up tris'ūla, lower skull. Or with 8 arms —on right side from top paras'u, sword, fire, arrow ; left—snake, tris'ikha, skull, bow. S'ivā on side—red, red clothes, 3 eyes, Jewel ornaments, 16 s'ūlas in 16 hands (?)

Tumburu Rudra—4 faces, 4 arms—right up sṛṇi, lower—khaṭvānga, left up pās'a, lower—skull, red clothes, cipiṭa nāsika, 8 S'aktis—Vāmā Jyēṣṭhā, Raudrī, Icchā, Durbhagā, Subhagā, Karālī, Mohinī.

Kṣētrapāla—black, upright yellow jaṭā, 3 round eyes, naked, 2 hands—mace and skull, 8 Kinkaras—Anala,

Agnikēs'a, Karāla, Ghaṇṭikārava, Mahākōpa, Pis'itās'a, Pingākṣa, Ūrdhvakēs'a.

Vaṭuka Bhairava—

Sātvika forms—white, 2 eyes, white clothes,2 hands—right, tris'ikha, left, daṇḍa ; like a vaṭu. Or right daṇḍa, left—skull, Or 4 hands—tris'ūla, pās'a, daṇḍa, kamanḍalu ; 3 eyes, blue neck, pearl necklace, 8 attendants—Asitānga, Ruru, Caṇḍa, Krōdha. Unmatta, Bhairava, Kapāli, Bhīṣaṇa, Samhāra. In Vīra sādhana in a cemetry—Bhairava appears with 16 Mitras—Kulīs'a, Sukulīs'a, Jāmitra, Rāmaṭha, Nibha, Pracaṇḍa, Caṇḍakēs'a, Caṇḍātma, Cāmara, Camatkāra, Cancala, Cārubhūṣa, Cāmīkara, Cāruvāha, Kitava ; and with Vīras—Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa, Ūrdhva Kēs'a, Bhīṣaṇa, Abhīṣaṇa, Vyōmakēs'a, Vyōmavāha, Vyōma Vyāpaka.

Rājasa forms—Red, 3 eyes, crescent, red clothes ornaments, 4 hands right up, s'ūla, lower, abhaya, left up skull, lower, vara. Or right hands triśūla, abhaya ; left skull and vara.

Tāmasa forms—black, skull garland, crescent, yellow hair, naked, 3 eyes, hands right ḍamaru, sṛṇi, left—sword, s'ūla; Or, abhaya, nāga, pās'a, ghaṇṭa, skull, (?) from upper to lower in order ; Or—2 hands, right abhaya, left—vara.

Caṇḍēśvara—red, 3 eyes, red clothes, crescent, 4 hands—right lower rosary, up — s'ūla, left lower ṭanka, upper Kamanḍalu.

Tryambaka—(Mṛtyu Sanjīvinī Vidyā of 33 akṣaras and 33 gods). In Kailāsa, on white lotus, crescent, 3 eyes, 6 hands (?), 2 with Kalaṣa pouring amṛta on head, 2 with deer and rosary, 2 holding nectar pot on thigh.

According to S'āradā Tilaka :—

Īśāna in Sun—Rāma, Vis'va, Ārya,Dhara. (S'aktis)

Mahādēva in Moon—Rākā, Vidyā Prajñā, Umā „

Bhava in Earth—Prabhā, Sitā, Pratibha, Pāvanī (S'aktis)

S'arva in Water—Jyōtsnā, Prahvā, Mēdhā, Padmā, „

Rudra in Fire—Pūrṇā, Sārā, S'ānti, S'āntā, „

Ugra in Vāyu (īra)—Uṣā (umā), Sandhyā, Kānti, Amōghā „

Bhīma in Ākaśā—Pūraṇī, S'ivā, Dhṛti, Ajayā. „

Pas'upati in yajamana—Sudhā, Niśā, Mati, Amala „

Some reverse the order of Bhava and S'arva but it is not so because of the order in "*Bhavaṁ ca Karabhadraṁ ca S'arvaṁ ca Khagalāmapi*".

In Vasiṣtha Kalpa, the 33 deities of 33 varṇas of the Tryambaka mantra are:

8 *Vasus*—Dhruva, Adhvara, Sōma, Āpa, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa, Prabhāsa.

11 *Rudras*—Vīrabhadra, S'ambhu, Girīs'a, Ēkapāt, Ahirbudhnya, Pinākī, Bhuvānadhīs'vara, Kapālī, Dikpati, Sthāṇu, Bharga.

12 *Ādityas*—Dhātr, Aryamā, Mitra, Varuṇa, Ams'u, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Indra, Pūṣā, Parjanya, Tvaṣṭā, Viṣṇu.

1 Prajāpati.

1 Vaṣaṭkāra.

Elsewhere *Mahāmṛtyuṁjaya*—white, 3 eyes, 5 faces, Gangā, crescent on head, Kapālamāla, on yōgāsana, tiger skin, snake ornament, 4 hands left—abhaya and kapāla, right—vara and tris'ūla or above two hands with Kalasas etc; on left aṁka—Gaurī as Caṇḍī, 3 eyes, 4 hands—lotus, mirror, vara, abhaya.

Gāyatrī Vidyā—S'āradā tilaka—"*muktā vidruma hēmanīla*" etc. hands from lowest in pairs—vara, abhaya; aṁkus'a, kas'ā; pās'a, Kapāla; Guṇa (gadā ?) s'aṁkha, cakra, 2 lotuses.

Gāyatri śiras—as Viṣṇu over sun-disc, over moon and five maṇḍalas, in vahnipura, on 8 petal lotus; only for sannyasins.

24 Akṣaras of Gāyatrī—

Aksara	Colour	S'akti	Location
Tat	Yellow, on lotus, s'ānta trimūrti-rūpa	Prahlādinī ...	Earth
Sa	atasi, on lotus	Prabhā ...	Water
Vi	Kapila, on lotus	Nityā ...	Fire
Tuh	Indranīla	Vis'vabhadrā ...	Air
Va	Fiery	Vilāsini ...	Sky
Rē	White	Prabhāvati ...	Gandha
Ni	White	Jayā ...	Rasa
Yam	Tāraka with candra rēkha ...	S'āntā ...	Rūpa
Bha	Black	Kāntā ...	Spars'a
Rgō	Red, on lotus	Durgā ...	S'abda
Dē	Red, on lotus	Sarasvatī ...	Vāk
Va	White	Vis'vamāyā ...	Hasta
Sya	Golden Yellow	Vis'āles'ā (?) ...	Upastha
Dhi	White	Vyāpini ...	Pāyu
Ma	Padmarāga	Vimalā ...	Pat.
Hi	conch-white	Tamōpahāriṇī ...	S'rōtr
Dhi	Pāṇḍura, on lotus	Sūkṣma ...	Vaktra
Yō	red	Vis'vayōni ...	Cakṣu
Yo	red	Jayāvahā ...	Jihvā
Nah	colour of rising sun, east face ...	Padmālayā ...	ghrāṇā
Pra	colour of nilōtpala, south face...	Parā ...	Manas
Çō	colour of gōrōcana yellow, north face	S'ōbhā ...	Ahamkārā
Da	White, west face	Bhadrarūpā ...	Mahat
Yāt	tricolour S'ira	Trimūrti ...	3 Guṇaṣ

Gāyatrī—at dawn—Brahmāṇī, 4 faces, Ṛgrūpa, girl form, on haṃsa, 4 hands—rosary, pot, sruk, sruva—called Gāyatrī.

at noon—Rudrāṇī, 16 years old, 3 eyes, tiger skin, yellow jaṭā, crescent, on bull, Yajūrūpa, 4 hands—khaṭvānga, triśikhā, rosary, valayā (?) abhaya : Sāvitrī.

at sun set—Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa, pītāmbara, dark, 6 hands—śaṁkha, cakra, gada, abhaya, rosary ?—Sarasvatī.

(*To be Concluded.*)

THE STORY OF THE ASURAS

By Rao Sahib N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Page 67.)

3. S'UMBHA AND NIS'UMBHA

Devi Bhāgavata V. 21-31. Mārkandeya Purāṇa 80-86.

Raktabija, the brother of Māhīṣa, became the ally of S'umbha and Niśumbha, who were great and terrible Asuras, who deprived the Devas of all their power and glory. S'umbha and Niśumbha had for their allies also terrible Asuras, Dhūmralocana, Canda and Munda, besides Raktabija. It was impossible for the Devas to vanquish this powerful combination of Asuras. Like Mahīṣa, the brothers S'umbha and Niśumbha also had the boon of Brahma that they could never be killed by any male being. They did not include women in their boon. The Devas had, therefore, after long suffering and deliberation, to seek the aid of Devi. Devi had to leave Her abode and fulfil Her promise to the Devas at the time of the fall of Mahīṣa, that She would help them, when they had dire need of Her help. She dressed herself for war and in the form of a beautiful young damsel reached the outskirts of the city of the formidable Asuras. The Asuras sent envoys wooing Her and imploring Her to stay away with them. She said she had vowed that He who subjugated Her in open duel could alone marry Her. Her idea was considered to be too silly and womanish. Dhumralocana, Canda, Munda, and Raktabija fought against Devi. Devi as *Sarasvatī* produced form Her lovely from, a form of *Rudra* known as Kāḷi for the fight. She also had all the S'aktis of the Devas for her aid. Rudra himself was Her ambassador to S'umbha and Nis'umbha. She acquired hence the name S'ivadūti. The fall of Dhūmralocana was easily achieved. Kāḷi had to kill Canda and Munda and she acquired the name of Cāmundi. Raktabija had to be killed by the combined effort of Devi and Kāḷi, Sarasvatī killing the Asuras that arose from the blood-drops of Raktabija, and Kāḷi drinking up the drops of blood of Raktabija as they fell on the ground. After a terrible encounter, S'umbha and Nis'umbha were also killed by Devi. The three worlds were again freed from the ravages of the Asuras.

Devi promised the Devas that she would take Avatars whenever the Devas could not overcome the Asuras and bring relief to them and the Worlds.

Note:—The full story is related in my *Story of Devi.*

Note:—A brief account of the Three Avatars of Devi, *viz.* Mahākāli, Mahālakṣmi and Mahāsarasvatī is found in Devi Bhāgavata, X. 10-12.

In the War of Tāraka against the Devas, the Asuras Mahīṣa and S'umbha were encountered by Viṣṇu, but they were let off with their lives, as they had to be killed by Devi (Skānda Purāṇa Mahesvara Khānda, Kaumarika Khānda, Ch. 20. sl. 69, ch. 21. sl. 11-12.)

In the Skānda Purāṇa, Mahesvara Khānda, Kaumarika Khānda, Ch. 29, it is said that when Pārvatī was once insulted by S'aṁkara as being dark-complexioned [this was due to Brahma's having asked the Goddess of the Night, Rātri Devata, Vibhāvari, to enter the womb of Mena, the wife of Himālaya, when she was carrying in her womb Sati, the daughter of Dakṣa and the former wife of S'aṁkara, who had annihilated herself for the insult offered to her and her husband by Daksha's not inviting them, to his Yagña, in his pride. (Kaumārika Khānda, Ch. 22)] she left S'aṁkara and went off for *Tapas.* During her severe penance, Brahma appeared before her and granted the boon of golden (Gaura) complexion to Pārvatī, who thus became Gauri. Her darkness came out in the form of a dark-looking Goddess. At the same time a fierce Lion came out of Pārvati. Brahma ordered the dark form of Devi, Kāḷi, to go to Vindhya and have the Lion as her vehicle. She was to wait for the opportunity to kill S'umbha and Nis'umbha.

From Skānda Purāṇa VI. Nāgara Khānda Ch. 149-150, it appears that Devi's Avatāras were in the order of :—

1. *Mahālakṣmi* to kill *Mahiśāsura.* (Mārkandeya Purāna ch. 79-81) (Devi Bhāgavata. V. 2-19.)—called *Kātyāyani* in Nāgara Khānda Ch. 118-121.

2. *Mahā Sarasvatī* to kill S'umbha and Nis'umbha (Mārkandeya Purāṇa—ch. 82-88). (Devi Bhagavata—V. 21-31).

3. *Sri Māta* to kill Kalayavana (Nāgara Khānda Ch. 149-Sl. 10-11).

4. *Kāleśvari* to kill Andhaka. (Nagara Khānda Ch. 149-150). (See Slokas 6-12 in Ch. 149, Nāgara Khānda)

Note :—The exploit of Devi against Mahiṣa S'umbha and Nis'umbha took place after the avatara of Viṣṇu as Vāmana. (V. Avanti Khāṇda i. Avanti Mahātmya Ch. 63. Sl. 24-27).

4. DURGAMA

(Devi-Bhāgavata VII. 28.)

A terrible, Asura, by name Durgama, obtained from Brahma, by his long and hard penance, the knowledge of all the Vedas and Mantras. He afflicted the Brāhmaṇas and soon the latter lost all vedic knowledge and gave up all Vedic Karma. There was famine and drought over the whole world for a hundred years. The Devas and the Brāhmaṇas lost all power. They prayed then to Devi for relief from the Asura. Devi appeared in a form with a Hundred Eyes (hence called, S'atākṣi) and, pouring rain through all Her eyes for a period of nine days, relieved the drought of the world. Then She carried in Her hands roots, fruits and vegetables and relieved all men and cattle from famine and death, by giving them to all. Hence She came to be called S'ākambhari (the Bearer of S'akha or vegetable). Then She attacked the Asura and, in a period of ten days, destroyed his army of one-thousand *aksouhinis* and, on the eleventh day, when the Asura took his car right to the front of the car of Devi, She killed him and attained glory as Durga, the killer of Durgama. Devi then restored the Vedas and the Mantras to the Devas and the Brāhmaṇas, advised them to recite the Vedas and perform Vedic Karma for the good of the World and disappeared.

Note :—Durgama was the son of Ruru, the son of Hiranyākṣa.

Note :—At the time of Devi's fight against Durgama, thirty-two, (it is also said, sixty-four) S'aktis issued out of the form of Devi. Devi is said to have killed the Asura with fifteen arrows of great power. Fifteen, represents the fifteen mystic sounds of S'rī Vidya. (Pançadaṣa-Akṣari).

5. S'AṀKHACŪDA.

(Devi Bhāgavata, IX. 15-25)

A Gopa, by name Sudhāma, and a Gopika, by name Tuḷasi, loved each other, while they were the attendants of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa in Goloka, the highest of the abodes in the Universe. Sudhāma had, by the curse of Rādha, to take birth as the Asura S'aṁkhacūda, the son of Dambha, who was the son of Viprachitti. Similarly, Tuḷasi, who had her heart on S'rī Kṛṣṇa, was not allowed to be in the Goloka. She too had to take birth in the world as Tuḷasi. S'aṁkhacūda was born with a powerful Kavacha (like Karṇa, the son of Kunti, vide, Mahābhārata). Tuḷasi went off for penance to Badari and received initiation from Brahma in the Mantra of Rādha, whose devotee she had been, while in the Goloka. Similarly, S'aṁkhacūda did penance at Puṣkara and was initiated by the sage Jaigiṣavya in the Kṛṣṇa Mantra. So, though the two were in the world, they continued to be devotees of S'rī Kṛṣṇa and Rādha. S'aṁkhacūda and Tuḷasi later married each other and S'aṁkhacūda became a powerful sovereign by the grace of S'rī Kṛṣṇa and Rādha. The Devas suffered defeat at the hands of the Asura everywhere and appealed to Nārāyaṇa Himself for relief from the affliction caused by the Asura. But he and his wife were the devotees of S'rī Kṛṣṇa and Rādha. So He said He would ask Sadās'iva to quell the Asura. Nārāyaṇa then gave His trident to Mahādēva and sent Him on the errand. Mahādēva took Bhadra-Kāḷi and Skanda with him, and, with a large army, proceeded to the banks of the Bhadra, seated Himself under a holy Banian Tree and sent word to S'aṁkhacūda. Tuḷasi, hearing that Mahādēva had Himself come to fight against her husband, was afraid of their safety. S'aṁkhacuda comforted her and went to Sadās'iva. Sadās'iva gave him the ultimatum that he should either leave the regions of the earth and heaven to the men and the Devas, or fight with him. S'aṁkhacūda could not agree to accept defeat without a fight, though he should be ranged against Lord Mahādēva Himself.

Skanda fought hard against the Asura but could not defeat him. Kāḷi also fought long, but she could not overpower the Asura. Nārāyaṇa Himself then appeared before the Asura as an old Brahmin and took, as alms, the inviolable Kavacha of the

Asura. He became powerless. Mahādēva, aimed the trident at S'aṁkhacūda and burnt him to ashes. The Asura S'aṁkhacūda became his former self, Sudhāma, went to Goloka and became the attendant of S'rī Kṛṣṇa again, having purified himself by the life of an Asura and by having had his fleshly desire fulfilled by his union with Tuḷasi, on earth.

Nārāyana then went to Tuḷasi in the guise of S'aṁkhacūda. She received him and asked about the fate of her husband, for whom she had more than ordinary passion. Nārāyaṇa at first kept her in suspense with some false story, then told her of the fall S'aṁkhacuda and revealed Himself as Nārāyaṇa. She had longed to be united with Nārāyaṇa and then she had her desire too thus fulfilled, by Nārāyaṇa in a human form. Tuḷasi also duly gave up her human form, went off to Goloka and became the Gopi Tuḷasi again, attending on Rādha, purified by her sojourn in the human world.

Note:—S'aṁkhacūda is in the form of the holy conch (S'aṁkha) and Tuḷasi is in the form of the holy plant Tuḷasi. Nārāyana Himself is in the form of the holy Stone Sālagrāma. These three should ever be kept together and worshipped by every person in the world.

6. ARUṆA

(Devi Bhāgavata, X. 13).

A great Asura, by name Aruṇa, made himself very powerful by means of meditation on Gāyatri, the Great Vedic mantra, the Mother of all mantras. (So did the sages Visvāmitra, Vasista, Gautama and others). He grew very powerful with the boon of Brahma and became a source of incessant menace to the Devas. The Devas took counsel together. No deity, not even S'aṁkara, could vanquish the Asura who had secured Gāyatri-Siddhi. They planned to send their guru, Bṛhaspati, to Aruna. The great guru of the Devas went to the Asura and the Asura worshipped the Deva-guru and showed wonder at the visit of Bṛhaspati to him who was an avowed enemy of the Devas. The learned guru said that, as Aruna had also secured Gāyatri-Siddhi, he had become his equal and there could be no enmity between them. This statement of friendship by the

Deva-guru was too much for the proud Asura. By his haughtiness and enmity for the Devas, he shook off the Gāyatri and deprived himself of his Siddhi. This was all that Bṛhaspati and the Devas wanted. The Asura, losing his Gayatri Siddhi, became powerless.

At the request of the Devas, Devi took an unusual form, and carrying innumerable bees (Bhramara) in her hands, went towards the Asura, who had a large force of Asuras with him. Standing away from the Asura and his army, the Goddess Bhrāmari, so called from then, threw off innumerable bees. They clouded and darkened the sky. They afflicted Aruṇa and all the Asuras fell dead where they were without one knowing the end of another. Thus were this great Asura Aruṇa and his allies got rid of by Devi for the good of the worlds of the Devas and men.

Note :—This story shows the basis of the plea of modern science that it could create Bacteria-bombs for the destruction of enemies.

V

The Exploits of Human Beings against the Asuras.

i.

In the Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, Ch. 223, Indra is said to have been looking at the morning Sun on a New-Moon-Day (Amāvasya) being at the rise afflicted by Rākṣasas, and the ṛṣis Bhṛgu and Angiras, the first ṛṣis and the disciples of Atharvana ṛṣi, pouring oblations in fire for the happy voyage of Surya across the sky, marking day from night and giving the conception of time to the world. In the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, II. 2, it is said that Asuras known as Mandehas (thirty-crores of great warriors of that name, as stated in Devi Bhāgavata, XI. 16 (53)) afflict the Sun every day at the *śandhyas* in the morning and in the evening, and that for the relief of the Sun from the Asuras, we have to offer oblations of water with the Gayatri thrice in the morning just when the Sun is about to rise, again thrice at the time of Sunset, when the Sun is yet visible on the horizon. The midday oblation, when the Sun is just over our heads, is intended to propitiate Surya. These oblations are said to have also great efficacy in giving us brilliance of spirituality, *Brahmatejas*.

(These oblations, known as *Arghya*, given at the two sandhyas, have the power of throwing off the Asuras on the Island of Aruṇa).

ii.

Mount Vindhya grew so high that the passage of Surya round the golden Mount Meru was obstructed. Then the sage Agastya, who is even now seen as a bright star on the southern horizon, like Dhruva on the northern horizon, by the force of his Yoga, lowered Mount Vindhya and made the aerial road free for the car of Surya. (Devi Bhāgavata X. 2-7, Bhārata, Vana Parva Ch. 100-103 and 105.) The same sage once drank up the waters of the ocean in order to show to the Devas those Asuras (Kaleyas) who had hidden themselves in the waters of the ocean, and thus enable the Devas to destroy those Asuras, who were the enemies of *Dharma* and *Satya*. (Bhārata Vana Parva Ch. 104). Two Asuras, by name Vātāpi and Ilvala were afflicting human beings by becoming their guests and eating them up. The sage Agastya once happened to make the Asuras his guests and managed to eat them up and digest them with his magnificent power. Bhārata, Vana Parva, Chs. 96—99; (Rāmāyaṇa. Bālākānda. 74-76).

iii

1. The Solar King Kakutstha helped the Devas in their struggle against the Asuras. He is said to have made Indra himself his vehicle for the purpose. He is called, therefore, Indravāha. He is also known as Puranjaya, as he obtained victory for the Devas with his aid.

Devi Bhāgavata VII. 9. Harivamṣa I. 11.

2. The Solar King Kuvalās'va killed the Asura Dundhu (Dundhu was the son of Madhu) and obtained the title Dundhumāra.

Devi Bhāgavata, VII. 9 Harivamṣa I. 11.

Note:—Rtadhavaja, the son of the Solar King Satrujit, was a very powerful and virtuous prince. The Sage Gālva was afflicted by the rākṣasa Pātālaketu, the son of Vajraketu. He had carried away the gandharva maiden Madālasa, the daughter of Visvāvasu and kept her in confinement in a mansion in *Rasātala*, the lower region under the earth. One day, while Gālava was blankly looking at the sky in despair, Sūrya sent down the horse Kuvala-Asva to him. Gālava was asked by Sūrya to give the horse to King Satrujit. The horse had the power to take its rider anywhere over the three worlds. Gālava presented the horse to

Satrujit and prevailed on him to send the prince Rtadhvaja with him to ride the divine horse and help him. One day when the rākṣasa visited the āsrama of Gālava in the form of a pig and afflicted the disciples of the sage, Ratadhvaja pursued him. He went under the earth through a hole. The prince followed him, killed the rākṣasa, married Madālasa and returned with her to the āsrama. Hence Ratadhvaja came to be styled Kuvalāsva. (The full story of Gālava occurs in the Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, Ch. 105-122 and Anusāsana Parva, Ch. 18).

3. The Solar King Dasaratha fought on the side of the Devas against the Asuras. It was, during this expedition, that his queen Kaikeyi helped him and was promised two boons. She took later these two boons in the form of the exile of Rāma and the coronation of Bharata.

Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya Khānda, Ch. 11.

iv.

The Exploits of S'rī Rāmachandra (*The Rāmāyaṇa*)

As Danu and Diti, the wives of Kas'yapa, were the originators of Dānavas and Daityas, Pulastya, one of the first seven ṛṣis, born from Brahma by his will-power (the seven are Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣta) was the parent of the race known as rākṣasas. They were the allies of the Daityas and the Danavas and they were all inimical to the Devas, the sons of Kas'yapa's wife Aditi. Pulastya's son Visravas had Rāvaṇa for his son. He had ten heads and was a very powerful rākṣasa and a devotee of Mahādēva. His cousin was Kubera, the protector of the northern direction, and the lord of wealth. Kubera was also the lord of the sect of the celestials known as Yakṣas.

Rāvaṇa defeated Kubera and took away the latter's Vimāna, known as *puṣpaka*. Rāvaṇa established his sway at Laṇka and became a terror to the Devas, the ṛṣis and men. He had two brothers Vibhīs'aṇa, who alone in the whole race was a strict follower of Vedic Dharma, and Kumbhakarṇa, who had received the boon of sleeping for six months and of being a terror to all during the other six months of the year. Rāvaṇa had two sisters S'ūrpaṇakha and Kumbhīnasa. The latter had Madhu for her

husband, and their son was Lavaṇa. Rāvaṇa had sons, of whom Indrajit was most renowned, and he was a master of illusions (*Māya*). To relieve the world from the terrors of this race of rākṣasas who flourished at Laṇka and who had extended their influence over the mainland of Bhāratavarṣa, Nārāyaṇa promised to be born as the son of King Das'aratha of Ayodhya. Rāvaṇa had excluded men among those who could not kill him, when he sought the boon of Brahma after long penance. Das'aratha performed a sacrifice for children and he had four sons Rāma, Lakṣmana, Bharata and S'atrughna. When Rāma was barely sixteen years old, the sage Visvamitra took him and his beloved brother Lakṣmana for saving his yagña from the ravages of rākṣasas. At the bidding of the sage, very soon after they left Ayodhya, Rāma had to encounter Tātaka, a rākṣasa-woman, the daughter of the Yakṣa Suketu, and kill her, without even caring for the fact that she was a woman, for her ravages in the region were so unbearable. Tātakā was the wife of the rākṣasa, Sunda. Sunda and Upasunda (the sons of Nikumbha, the son of Hiraṇyakaṣipu killed by Nṛsimha) were two brothers who were very friendly to each other, but they once fought against each other over a woman and both fell dead. (Bhārata, Ādi Parva, 209-212).

Note :—They are said to have been the sons of Jambha, who was killed by Indra. (Bhārata, S'ānti Parva Ch. 98, v. 48-49).

A few days later, Mārica, the son of Tātakā, and his ally Subāhu attacked the āsrama of Visvamitra. Rāma killed Subāhu and threw off Marica to a great distance. Marica fled in fear and stayed in his abode in the south, ever in fear of the very name of Rāma.

Rāma and Lakṣmana received instruction in the use of arms from the sage Visvamitra and the sage handed over all his weapons to Rāma. Then by the kind services of the sage, Rāma married Sita, the daughter of Janaka, the King of Mithila. The princes returned to Ayodhya and when the old king desired to annoint Rāma as Yuvarāja, trouble arose, as Kaikeyi, a queen of Das'aratha desired that her son Bharata should have that honour. For her sake, Rāma went into exile for fourteen years, with Lakṣmana and Sīta. Rāma visited the āsramas of ṛṣis in the forest of Dandaka. Virādha, the son of Satahradā, gave trouble to the

princes, and he was despatched by Rāma. After a time, Rāma settled down at Pancavati, on the banks of the Godavari. One day S'ūrpanakha, the sister of Rāvaṇa, saw Rāma and was enamoured of his beauty and wished to possess him. Rāma and Lakṣmana ridiculed her and she had to leave them with her nose cut off. She ran to her brother Khara, who lived on the mainland of Bharatavarṣa at Janasthāna and told him her grief. He sent fourteen great warriors with fourteen thousand rākṣasas, and they were all killed by Rāma. Khara and Dhus'ana faced Rāma and they too paid for their folly with their lives.

S'ūrpanakha went to Laṇka and complained to Rāvaṇa. Akampana went to Rāvaṇa described the beauty of Sīta, and suggested that she was fit to be his queen. (see the stories of Mahīṣa and S'umbha before, for such folly). Then Rāvaṇa went to Mārica and sought his help to carry away Sīta, with the help of the illusion of Mārica, as he was a master of illusions. But Mārica related to Rāvaṇa his experience of Rāma and dissuaded him. Though for the time Rāvaṇa went off, he again returned to Mārica, with the same request, as his passion for Sīta became too much for him. This time Mārica could not dissuade Rāvaṇa from his fell purpose. He took the shape of a deer of golden hue and tempted away Rāma to a great distance from his āsrama, as Sīta was very anxious to possess the deer. The rākṣasa Mārica was killed by Rāma, but when he fell, he cried out 'Sīta! Lakṣmana!' and fell. Thinking that Rāma was in danger, Sīta asked Lakṣmana to go to the rescue of Rāma. When no one was in the āsrama, Rāvaṇa took the form of a sannyasi and carried away Sīta. On the way Jatāyu an old friend of Das'aratha, obstructed Rāvaṇa, but he was killed. Sīta was taken to Laṇka and, as she would not become his queen, she was placed in the *As'ōkavana* guarded by rākṣasa women.

Rāma and Lakṣmana made a vigorous search for Sīta, and gradually learnt the story of Sīta. They went to Kiṣkindha, being asked to befriend Sugriva, who had been deprived of his wife by his brother Vāli. In that region, Rāma was faced by Kabandha, a curious being with his face in the abdomen. Rāma killed Kabandha. Kabandha told Rāma the story of Sugriva and said that the alliance of Sugriva would enable Rāma to get back

Sīta. Sīta had thrown her jewels, bundled up in a portion of her cloth, in that region and the bundle was in the possession of Sugriva. Hanumanta was a great friend of Sugriva. Rāma killed Vāli and gave the kingdom to Sugriva. Sugriva sent massengers in all directions to trace Sīta. Hanumanta succeeded in seeing her at Laṇka. He ravaged the vine-gardens of Laṇka and for that act of his, he was attacked by rākṣasas. He killed many rākṣasas, but he was bound by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa and taken to the king's presence. At the request of Vibhis'aṇa, the messenger of Sugriva was let off with his tail set on fire. Hanumanta used the opportunity to set fire to the fine abodes of the rākṣasa chiefs. He returned to Kiṣkindha and told Sugriva and Rāma the whereabouts of Sīta. Then an expedition was fitted out and Laṇka was invaded by the vast army of Sugriva. Rāma and Lakṣmana went with the army. Vibhis'ana advised his brother to give up Sīta and avert a war. But Rāvaṇa was firm. Vibhis'aṇa became an ally of Rāma. A war ensued. It was a very terrible war and lasted long. Terrible duels and general engagements took place. Hanumanta killed Dhūmrākṣa, Akampana, Mahodara, his son Trisira, and Nikumbha. Sugriva killed Kumbha, the son of Kumbhakarna, and the two heroes Virupākṣa and Mahodara. Angada, the son of Vāli, killed Vajradamṣtra, Narāntaka and Mahāpārsva. Neela killed Prahasta. Kumbhakarṇa was disturbed from his slumber and he took up the fight. He was killed by Rāma. Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, who fought terribly with his illusions, was killed by Lakṣmana. Lakṣmana also killed Atikāya, the son of Rāvaṇa. Rāma himself killed Makarakṣa, the son of Khara. When all the heroes had fallen, Rāvaṇa himself faced Rāma and the fight between the two was unparalleled. When one head of Rāvaṇa was cut off, another was seen in its place. Thus Rāvaṇa had a hundred and one heads taken out from his body in the fight. At the critical juncture, Indra himself sent his car to Rāma and Agastya gave the mantra to propitiate Āditya, the seen Power of the Universe. Indra gave also his s'akti-weapon to Rāma. Lakṣmana was attacked by Rāvaṇa and rendered senseless but he was revived through the Sanjivini-plant secured by Hanumanta. The trident of Rāvaṇa was cut down by Rāma with the s'akti of

Indra. The flag of Rāvaṇa's car was brought down by Rāma and the head of the great Rākṣasa was severed from his body by Rāma.

Rāma made Vibhis'aṇa the ruler of Laṇka, took Sīta, went to Ayodhya in the *Puṣpaka-Vimāna*, and became the Emperor of Bharatavarṣha, having made the land free from the ravages of the terrible rākṣasas of the race of Rāvaṇa.

V.

(*Harivaṁṣa I. 54*).

S'atrughna, the brother of Rāma, thereafter attacked Lavaṇa, the son of Madhu, who had established his power in Madhu-Vana, set up by Madhu. The Asura sent an ultimatum to Rāma that Rāma might vanquish him, if his boasted power in killing Rāvaṇa and his race was a real display of Kṣatriya valour. The point of Lavaṇa was that Rāvaṇa had to meet with death, as he exhibited lack of self-control, owing to his passion for Sīta, and that Rāma had transgressed his *Dharma* as a hermit in taking up arms against Rāvaṇa. Rāma sent S'atrughna to deal with Lavaṇa. Lavaṇa was killed and S'atrughna took up the rule of that province. He built the city of Mathurā there, and it became the seat of Government for the Yādavas in later times. (Sūrasena of the Yādava race ruled there. Then Ugrasena and later his son Kaṁsa ruled there. The capital of the Yādavas was shifted to Dvāraka by S'rī Kṛṣna.). (See my Story of S'rī Kṛṣṇa).

(*To be continued.*)

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STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS — NEW SERIES No. IX

On a Punjabi Dedactic Myth about the Peacock's Pride and Foolishness.

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) is a beautiful bird which is found throughout India and Ceylon. As it is commonly met with, it is well known to every body. From India, it has now been introduced into the *aviaries* and private parks in various parts of the globe. The most characteristic feature of this bird, which makes it so very ornamental and beautiful to look at, is its long train or tail-feathers which are marked with the so-called "peacock-eyes" at their distal ends. It also bears a crest on its head. The colour of its neck and breast is beautiful. The males of this bird possess the habit of spreading out their long train or tail-feathers in the shape of a fan and of shivering or rattling the quills thereof at intervals. An albino variety of this bird, as also a blue form which is known as the Japanese peacock, are sometimes met with. Both these colour-species are the products of domestication. A second species, which is zoologically known as *Pavo muticus*, has its habitat in Burma and Java. The coloration of the neck and breast of this species is golden green. By reason of its peculiar colour, it bears a partial similarity to the Japanese peacock. In former times, the flesh of this bird was much esteemed as a delicacy.

The peacock plays an important part in the Punjabi didactic myth which has been collected by Mrs. F. A. Steel Brun "The Lord of the Five Rivers".[1] It is entitled;—"The Jackal and the Peahen". The Main incidents of this folk-tale which is common every where in the Punjab may be set forth as follows:—

A jackal and a peahen enter into friendship with each other. One day, having gone to a garden, the peahen ate ripe plums which were hanging from a plum tree and, saying that her mother had taught her not to be wasteful, planted the plum stones in the ground. For the purpose of emulating his friend—the peahen, the jackal, on his part, ate a kid and buried its bones in the ground, saying that,

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1, Tales of the Panjab Told by the People. By F. A. Steel. London; Macmillan & Co., 1894, pages 195-196.

in course of time, the same would also grow up. In the course of a few years, the plum-stones germinated, grew up into trees and ultimately bore a crop of ripe plums which the peahen ate to his heart's content. The jackal waited and waited but his bones did not even sprout into young shoots. They did not germinate even after the peahen's plum-stones had grown up into big trees and borne ripe fruits. One day, the jackal could not procure any food whatever by hunting and was, therefore, sitting dinnerless and very cross tempered. At the same moment the peahen, having eaten himself full of ripe plums, came to where the jackal was sitting, and, out of sheer ill-nature, began to jeer at the latter on his disappointment. The jackal was already angry and, hearing the peahen's jeering remarks, became still more enraged and ultimately pounced upon her and ate her up. From a study of the foregoing Punjabi didactic myth we find that

(1) The rustic people of the Punjab are frugal and thrifty in their way of life and appear to have the habit of saving the stones of the fruits they eat for the purpose of propogating the fruit-tress by planting the same. This appears from the peahen's remark that she was planting the plum-stone because her mother had taught her not be wasteful.

(2) The rustic people of the Punjab are possessed of a good deal of the sense of humour and of the jocose spirit. This appears from the fact that though they knew full well that the bones of animals when planted in the ground do not grow up into trees, yet for the purpose of making the jackal appear in a ridiculous light, they have depicted him as planting the kid's bones in the ground.

(3) I have already stated above that the foregoing Punjabi myth is a didactic one and inculcates the moral lesson that "Pride goeth before destruction and haughtiness before a fall". The peacock is proverbially the personification of pride. Naturally proud as the peahen was, the success which he achieved by planting the plum-stones which grew up into trees and yielded her a crop of luscious ripe plums, made her still more proud and impelled her to make jeering remarks at her insincere friend, the jackal. This led to her destruction.

(4) The second moral lesson taught by it is that one should be discreet and cautious in dealing with insincere friends who say one thing but mean another. The peahen must have known that her so-called friend, the jackal, was notoriuos for his cunningness. Therefore she ought not to have made cutting and jeering remarks at him. By doing so, she overstepped the bounds of discretion and, thereby brought about her own destruction.

(5) The third ethical lesson taught by the foregoing myth is that one should not enter into friendship with a person who is notorious for his trickery and fraudulent character, for it is not safe to rely on the supposed faithfulness of the latter. It is always safe to give such persons wide berth. The peahen ought not to have entered into friendship with the cunning jackal.

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STUDIES IN PLANT MYTH—NEW SERIES No. IX.

On the Ancient Greek Myth about the Metamorphosis of the youth named Hyacinthus into the Hyacinth flower.

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHNDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Hyacinth, which is also called the Jacinth, is on of the most popular flowers which are grown in gardens during the spring. It belongs to the Order *Liliacede.* The flowering plant, which is referred to in the undermentioned ancient Greek Myth, is, probably, the original of the cultivated hyacinth (*Hyacinthus Orientalis*) which grows indigenously in Greece and Asia Minor. In comparision with the cultivated Hyacinth, the *Hyacinthus Orientalis* is an insignificant plant which throws out a spike bearing on it a few small narrow-lobed, washy blue flowers which resemble in form, those of the common English blue-bell. The English flowrists and chiefly the Ducth growers have effected so much improvement upon the original *Hyacinthus Orientalis* that the modern hyacinth would scarcely be recognised as the decendant of the last mentioned type. In the modern cultivated hyacinth, the spike is long and densely covered with a large number of flowers from the top to the bottom thereof.

The ancient Greek Myth, in which the flowering plant named hyacinth has been referred to runs as follows :—

Hyacinthus was a happy and sunny-hearted young man who used to hunt games in the woods. Now Apollo, the sun-god, often met Hyacinthus when the latter roamed about in the woods in search of game and began to love him very dearly.

One day while Hyacinthus and Apollo were resting in the shady recess of the woods, the latter proposed to play a game of quoits with the former. The quoits were flat circular discs about twelve inches in diameter and were made of iron or some other heavy material.

The players hurled their discs into the air, the object of the game being to see who could throw the quoits the farthest.

Accordingly Apollo and Hyacinthus began to play at quoits. Apollo threw his disc high up into the air, which fell to the

ground with a crash. Now Hyacinthus ran forward to pick up the quoit: but it had struck the ground with such force that it rebounded and hit Hyacinthus on the forehead. Stunned by the blow, the young man fell down to the ground with a cry of pain. The wound on his forehead began to bleed profusely: and Apollo, with all his efforts to stop the bleeding could not stanch the flow of blood. Hyacinthus began to sink fast and died shortly afterwards.

Apollo mourned the death of his friend Hyacinthus very bitterly. In the vehemence of his grief, Apollo stooped down and tenderly touched the young man's forehead with his hand. In an instant the lifeless body of Hyacinthus disappeared, and in its place, sprang up a beautiful purple blossom. It had almost the colour of the blood that had flowed from the wound on young Hyacinthus's forehead.

Since that time, the beautiful purple-hued hyacinthus blooms with the first breeze of spring and reminds the people of the pathetic story of the great sun-god Apollo and of the youth Hyacinthus whom he loved so dearly.

From a study of the foregoing ancient Greek myth and of the researches made by Farnell and Frazer into the cult of Hyacinthus, we find that :—

(1) The ancient Greeks were very fond of manly games and sports such as hunting and quoits.

(2) The ancient Greeks looked upon death as an ugly event and, for this reason, contrived to make the deaths of virtuous men and women and of handsome young men and maidens look beautiful and pretty by metamorphosing their dead bodies into trees and flowering plants, as in the cases of Philemon and Baucis, Daphne and Narcissus.

(3) A writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th edition) says: "From the blood of Hyacinthus there grow the flower hyacinth (perhaps fritillary; not our hyacinth) the petals of which are marked with the mournful exclamation Ai, Ai, "Alas". It was also said to have sprung from the blood of Ajax son of Yelamon".

(4) Farnell, in his Cults of the Greek states, Vol. IV, pp. 266, says that the cult of Hyacinthus was very popular among the

ancient Spartans who celebrated the death of Hyacinthus at Amycloe by their second important festival, the Hyacinthia which, very likely, took place in May, June or July. He further says that, at all events it was an early summer festival which lasted for three days and that the rites performed therein gradually passed from mourning for Hyacinthus to rejoining in the majesty of the sun-god Apollo.

(5) Farnell is further of opinion that the Spartan festival of Hyacinthia is probably connected with vegetation and symbolises the transition from the young and beautiful verdure of spring to the withering heat of summer and the ripening of the corn.

(6) The writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th edition) says "This and taboo on cereals during the first part of the Amyclean festival suggests a Chathonian vegetation-deity whose path is mourned like that of Adonis".

(7) Sir J. G. Frazer, in his Golden Bough (3rd edition) Vol. V, page 313, suggests that the afore-mentioned Chathonian vegetation-diety may have been regarded as spending the winter months in the under-world and returning to earth in the spring when the Hyacinth-flower blooms.

(8) The foregoing ancient Greek myth about the growth of the Hyacinth flower from the blood of the youth named Hyacinthus, should be compared with the similar oriental myths about flowers springing from the blood of Attis and from that of Adonis.

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DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY B.A., Ph.D. (Hony).

BY M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D. Lit. (Lond).

IN the passing away of Dr. R. Shama Sastry, the world has lost one of the foremost Orientalists who made great contributions to our knowledge of Sanskrit and of Indian History. He was born at Rudrapatna, an Agrahara village on the banks of the Cauvery in the year 1868 *A.D.* in a family well-known for its ancient, classical learning. Commencing his education at the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore, Dr. Shama Sastry passed the Vidvat Examination in Sanskrit literature in 1891. While many of his class-mates confined their attention to and became famous as teachers of Sanskrit and Kannada in the various schools of the State, Dr. Shama Sastry took to English education. With English and Sanskrit as his languages, and Physics as his optional subject, in the Central College, Bangalore, he graduated form the Madras University in 1899. This combined learning and scholarship very early attracted the attention of the then Dewan of Mysore, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, who engaged him as his own personal reader in Sanskrit and in Indian Philosophy. Dr. Shama Sastry was afterwards appointed as Librarian of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, where he came into contact with great Pandits like Panditaratnam Kasturi Rangacharaya and others: and under the guidance of that able scholar, Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastry, Dr. Shama Sastry began to publish Sanskrit works for the Library and to do research work in Indology, publishing in 1905 an article on the Origin of the Devanagari Alphabet and a work entitled Gavam Ayanam or the forgotten sacrificial calendar of Vedic poets.

The chief task entrusted to Dr. Shama Sastry finally was the preparation of a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Mysore and the examination of new collections of manuscripts. Here was an apportunity to utlise his great knowledge of scripts and of the different branches of oriental learning. In the course of his examination of the numerous palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the library he discovered a copy of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilīya. Appraising its real value as of very great

importance to ancient Indian History, he copied it and published it in the Mysore Oriental Library Series. Its language was technical and difficult involving a knowledge of various subjects like politics, economics, finance, law, military science etc. Dr. Shama Sastry studied all these subjects and worked with such zeal that he was able to produce a provisional translation. Some chapters of his work which were published in the Mysore Review attracted world-wide notice and he was enabled to publish a complete translation of the Arthaśāstra in 1912. Encouraged by the scholars of Europe and America, he next published articles on various aspects of Mauryan Polity and established his name as an authority on that branch of Oriental Studies. Other translations of the Arthaśāstra have since appeared and both the text and the translation of Dr. Shama Sastry have been subject to some criticism but the value of his translation and the importance of his great contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian Polity has throughout been admitted.

For some time Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Bangalore, he was appointed in 1918 as Curator of the Oriental Library, Mysore. After the Arthaśāstra became a subject of study in the many Universities of India, Dr. Shama Sastry very often was an examiner for research thesis in the Calcutta and other Universities. At the instance of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mukherji, a most well-known Indian Educationist and Judge, Dr. Shama Sastry received an Honorary Ph.D. degree of that University in 1921. In the same year, he delivered a series of lectures on Indian Polity in the Calcutta University. Mysore recognised his work and in 1922 on the retirement of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, appointed him as the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore in addition to his duties as Curator, Oriental Library. He was also Professor of Indian History in the University of Mysore. But owing to heavy work, he retired from the Professorship and held the other two places till his retirement from service by super-annuation in 1928. In 1925 His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore was pleased to confer on him the title of Arthaśāstra Viśārada and in 1930 the title of Mahāmahōpādhyāya was conferred on him by the British Indian

Government. In 1935 the title of Panditarāja was bestowed on him by the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala of Benares.

Even after his retirement, he actively pursued his research studies, devoting himself especially to Vedanga Jyotiṣa. In 1936 he published an English translation of Vedanga Jyotiṣa with a Sanskrit commentary. In 1938 he issued the "Cycle of Eclipses in the Vedas". He also wrote subsequently on the Eclipse Cult and the Vedic Gods.

An important piece of work done by Dr. Shama Sastry for archæology was his editing and publication on behalf of the Government of India, the Ninth Volume of South Indian Inscriptions consisting of large collections of Kannada Inscriptions made by the Government of India Archæological Department. This work was published in two parts, and stands as a monumental contribution made by Dr. Shama Sastry. A more varied contribution to archæology is contained in the six Annual Reports published by him for the Government of Mysore from 1922 to 1928. These contain articles of very great interest showing a unique boldness of spirit and a desire for adventure in the field of Oriental Research like his views on the Gupta Era, his rendering of a Greek Farce in the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus" etc.

Dr. Shama Sastry was a great scholar and almost nothing but a scholar. He had no noteworthy hobby or activity in life but the pursuit of learning. Even at an advanced age he felt young and buoyant enough to tackle brand new subjects. His capacity for learning new subjects and languages was remarkable as evidenced by his learning of the Greek language for the sake of writing his article on the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus" of the first or early second century *A.D.* discovered in Egypt, in which he made every endeavour to identify the barbarian passages there with words in the Kannada language. He was a devoted worker. What he studied in his chair, he thought over during his walks—his only recreation.

He had considerable capacity for concentrating on a particular subject for almost a whole season. It is possible that everything that Dr. Shama Sastry has written may not stand the test of time, for very often he cared more to open the study of a subject than to say the final word upon it. It was this spirit of adventure in

learning that made it possible for him to produce a translation of the Arthaśāstra. When corrections were pointed out, he gladly accepted them and incorporated them in his second edition. He never thought himself infalliable; he used to say that scholars proceeded from truth to truth and none had the monopoly of the final truth.

The private life of Dr. Shama Sastry was simplicity itself. Though a bold thinker and a man intellectually prepared to support very downright reforms, he actually lived the simple life of a Brahmin and walked in the footsteps of his forefathers. No bad habit and no blemish could be associated with his life. His personal life was a heroic struggle. He became a dispeptic in his thirties and a life-long sufferer, but he was one who fought bad health with much self-control and determination. He leaves behind him his wife, an only son and four daughters.

In the death of Dr. Shama Sastry, Mysore has lost one of its most famous scholars and the world of Oriental Studies a great personality well-known and justly famous throughout the world.

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REVIEWS

Mahāyoga—By 'Who'. Published by the New Light Publishing House, Pudukkottai (Trichy), Price Rs. 3-0-0.

MAHĀYOGA by 'Who' is a direct method of finding the truth about ourselves,—devoid of mystery, the real process of unlearning, which expounds the subject-matter of the Upaniṣads—the eternal verities and the primary authority on which this is based will be evident to any one who has time and inclination to visit that serene, beautiful, contemplative atmosphere which is the glory of S'rī Ramaṇāśram. That Jean Herbert should find delight to translate the work into the French language shows how simple and yet how profound are the teachings of the sage of Arunacala. The exposition of Mahāyoga in this work is lucid, clear and intelligible. The book is of particular value as it gives a complete though short sketch of the life of Venkataramana, the living teacher, the founder of the Ramaṇāśram. What looked a careless, neglected wandering youth had in him a burning desire of the ecstacy associated with the living *avatār* of the divine. On the rocky cliffs of the hill of Arunacala, forlorn and abandoned, without food or drink, the sage pursued his way by the time the present habitation of the aśram was built. Our happiness is due to our ignorance, to our authoritarian character in our affairs, in our relations, and in our association with our own people, with the outside world, in our neglect of the demands of the soul within, and in the absence of hunger to satisfy that soul. In the spirit of godliness which we exhibit bereft of these cravings in which exists the egoless state, the quest will be for reality, a state of deliverence, of illumination, of bliss, of perfection, of peace and indeed a natural state. It is not nothingness which is not allusion but it is a state of infinite bliss. How can there be the sense of the world's existence if there be not something real ? Is real consciousness a thing other than that reality ? Since that reality dwells without thoughts, in the heart, how can it—itself the Heart—be meditated on ? And who is there, existing apart from that Reality, to meditate on it ? Know that meditation of it is just to be at one with it, in the Heart with the mind completely stilled. Going beyond the waking state is realised the purpose of self.

The wakeful state of the self in deep sleep shows that there is something beyond the waking state. The purpose of this soul is to kill this ego. If we remember that the waking world is a creation of our own mind just like the dream world itself and there is some one or some body quite apart from this physical world and from ourselves who sees both our waking state and the state of our deep sleep then we shall find that the persistence of our identity is due to the existence of one who is omnipresent and omnicient, who watches over everything in this universe to which is due the continuity of the self through the various stages of its existence. Devotion to Him, that all-pervading divine being will reveal the gateway of His abode. That is the sum and substance of the Upaniṣadic lore and the key-note of the purpose of our existence. The physical embodiment of that state in this world of the present time is S'rī Ramaṇa. He is not bound hand and foot by desire and fear. He knows the way to deliverance and follows it. By following him and his methods, by meditation on his teachings and by diving into the heart seeking the source of the self we reach the divine. Indeed S'rī Ramaṇa is an *avatār* and His physical continuance in this world is for our deliverance. He is a *jīvanmukta* and a work which considers and expounds his teachings is a work worthy of our admiration.

S.S.

The Dhamma-Cakka-Pavattana Sutta—By Sister Vajīrā. Mahabodhi Society, Saranath, U. P.

DAMMA CAKKA has been rightly selected by Sister Vajirā for publication as it serves the demands of visitors to Saranath and others who would like to know what the Blessed One taught first. In an elaborate introduction she gives the background against which it has to be read and refers us to a detailed version of the sutta included in the Samyukta Nikāya. The text of the sutta is given in Roman script and opposite to it appears the carful English translation of the authoress who has already become familiar to the reading public through her translations of Uraga and Culla Vaggas. Her work is laudable.

P.S.L.

The Gospel and India's Heritage—By A. J. Appasamy. Published by the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, Madras. Price. Rs. 2-4-0.

DR. Appasamy makes an illuminating and synthetic study of the Gospel with the best traditions of Indian religion. This work suggests that the Indian Christians should see the mind of Christ only through the Gospels without being unduly influenced with the customs and traditions of western theological beliefs. "When churches grow up in the environment of non-christian religions and cultures, it is necessary that they should become firmly rooted in the Christian heritage and fellowship of the Church Universal". It is necessary that the Gospel should be expressed and interpreted in indigenous forms, and that in methods of worship, institution, literature, architecture, etc. the spiritual heritage of the nation and country should be preserved. Whatever is true and good and noble in Hinduism is a living part of the invaluable heritage of India from which the Christian as well as the Mussalman is entitled to profit. Arjuna says at the sight of the blazing vision of S'rī Kṛṣṇa in the eleventh chapter of the Gīta, "Thou art the father of all the world—of all that move and all that do not move." In a fragmentary and isolated verse in Isaiah (lxvi) the Lord says on the motherhood of God, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you." In the teaching of Jesus the responsibility is thrown on God himself and He bears the burden. In the Christian doctrine of forgiveness this doctrine of Karma is not emphatic.

R.B.P.

Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture—Vol. I. Ancient India, Vol. II.—South Indian History and Culture. By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D. Published by the Oriental Book Agency. Poona, 2. Price Rs. 10-0-0, each volume.

THE author's Ancient India has been revised and re-edited with several chapters bringing the history up to 1,300 A.D. with an unusually critical historical survey in the style characteristic of Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar. The illuminative studies on the obscure points of the Gupta period, the S'ātavahanas, the Mauryas and the Huns are of absorbing interest. In the second volume fresh light is thrown upon the history of Vijayanagāra and that is followed by a general account of the Penukonda dynasty. The historyof Mysore and the rise of the Marāṭha power and the instructive

account of the Golkonda history together with Madura, Gingee, The Tamil Sangam, Mahāvamṣa and so on assist us to a correct understanding and appreciation of the history of India generally. We are doubly grateful to the author for his chapter on Greater India in volume one which gives an account of the expansion of India beyond the seas and is of considerable topical importance at the present day. For over forty years his works are before the public. The author has continued to labour and serve the cause of Indian history and richly deserves the encomium for patient industry and diligent study bestowed on him by Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar of revered memory and by others. S.S.

The Nayaks of Tanjore—By V. Vriddhagirisan. Annamalai University Historical Series No. 3. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, P.O.

THE Nayaks of Tanjore were of Telugu origin but adapted themselves to their spirit of toleration and tactful administration. Telugu literature, music and other arts flourished during their rule. Though formally vassals of Vijayanagara, they really were supreme and practically exercised sovereign jurisdiction.

In 1532 after the suppression of the rebellion of Cōḷa Vīra Narasingarāya, the Emperor of Vijayanagara, Achyutarāya, placed Sevappa Nayak, his brother-in-law, as the ruler of Tanjore, which begins the dynasty of the Nayaks of Tanjore. Sevappa ruled till 1560 and then till his death in 1580 was a recluse, leading a retired life. Achyutappa Nayak succeeded him and ruled till 1614 for over fifty years. His was a peaceful and prosperous reign under the able minister Govinda Dīkshita, who was greatly responsible for the glory of Tanjore and well deserves the special treatment given by the author.

Raghunatha Nayak who succeeded Achyutappa was a man of wisdom and learning. Prepossessing and of good physique, he first distinguished himself as a mighty warrior on the battle field of Penukonda and in the wars against Golkonda. In his court were assembled men of advanced learning. He was an excellent poet and his knowledge of music was sound. Of his works in Telugu are *Pārijāthapaharaṇam*, *Vālmikicharitam*, *Rukmaṇipariṇayam*,

Yakṣagāna, Rāmāyaṇam, while his Sanskrit works include *Sangīta Sudha* and *Bhārata Sudham*. He is regarded as the founder of Carnātic Music. The most illustrious period of the rule of the Nayaks was Raghunatha's and Yagnanarayana Dīkshita while eulogizing his reign states that there was no poverty in Tanjore, the abode of Lakṣmi. What Krishnadevarāya's was for Vijayanagara, Raghunatha's was of Tanjore.

Vijayarāghava Nayak, his successor was a usurper and unpopular and with him began the disruption of Tanjore under the Muhammadan invasions of Tanjore and Vallam. Invited by Chengamalla the last of the Nayaks, Adil Shah sent Ekoji who finally established himself as its ruler in 1675.

This excellent work of Mr. Vriddhagirisan is a valuable contribution to the history of South India. R.B.P.

Bengali Literature—By Ananda Sankar and Lila Ray. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

Indo-Anglian Literature—By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Price 1-8-0. **The P. E. N. Books**—The Indian Literatures Nos. II and V. Respectively. Published for the P. E. N. All-India Centre by the International Book House, Ltd. Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay.

BENGALI Literature is of value not merely to Bengalis but to many outside who have become familiar with the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Maikel Madhusudan Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore and others in their English dress. Bengali figures prominently in modern Hindu renaissance and the treasure it contains is of value to Indian culture. Sri Ananda Sankar Ray and Srimati Lila Ray have in this short brochure shown how mystical intimations of the poet, the psychological analysis of the novelist, the philosophical expositions of the essayist, the tendency portrayals, and the character delineations of the dramatist have contributed to attract the Indians in general to the ancient cultural movement which has received their uprising and continued assistance from Bengal. The selections are such as to justify the prominent position which the Bengali Literature has occupied in the fane of Indian Culture.

In Indo-Anglian Literature Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar presents a study of the literature of India which deserves wider acquaintance and appreciation. The fore-word of Srimathi Sophia Wadia and the introduction of Dr. Sir C. R. Reddy draw attention of Indians to the fact that while they know little about things Indian, they desire to know more about Western theories and Western developments than about their own affairs. If imitation has to stop and if true literary feeling should be developed it is necessary to have English Literature bearing on Indian themes whether by Indian or European authors for our schools and colleges, so that the natural attraction of the theme may awaken in young minds and hearts a sense of style and a sensibility to the beauties of language. Dr. Srinivasa Iyengar has shown the wealth of literature that exists in this way from this aspect. Indian writers who have employed English medium present a truer and more intimate account of India than Europeans. The beginning of English education, the researches of Sir William Jones, the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others and the timely intervention of Macaulay to make the natives of India good English scholars have been referred to As Dr. Iyengar says Indo-Anglian literature soon found its audience increasing and writers in India came on the scene more frequently. Bengal was the first to wake from this national stupor but in Madras the average level of English writing reached its climax. Many of us are familiar with the works of Toru Dutt, Romesha Chandra Dutt, the translator of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, Maikel Madhusudhn Dutt, Aurabinda Ghose, Manmohan Ghose and others. S'ri Aurabindo is a great mystic who has formed a more deliberate and delicate fusion of English idiom with Hindu traditions and aspirations. His mastery of blank verse is something unusual in one whose mother-tongue is not English and were we not mentioning it these lines could never be attributed to an Indian poet. So are Tagore and Sarojini. In fiction, and drama, scanty as these are, India has excelled. Nehru's Autobiography and Gandhiji's Experiments with Truth hold the field as no other autobiographical work in modern times. For literary criticism Tagore's essay on the inner meanining of Kāḷidāsa's S'akuntala has been translated into English

by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and is surely a notable example of literary criticism. Under assessments and anticipations there is a reference to reviews. A criticism is laid that reviews appear late and in many cases are not paid for and also that the reviewer is not allowed to keep the book. But it is to be remembered that there are very few journals in India which pay their way and there are not many which have a library of their own. Owing to the absence of financial backing and faced with a public with no keenness for literary effort as in Europe or America little more could be done in a country which is so poor. The vernacular literature has also a prior claim. Yet, the future of Indo-Anglian Literature is full of promise, particularly because of the important fact that the authors are beginning to give expression to their own feelings and thoughts without being worried how others take them.

S. S.

The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute. Vol. I. Part 1. Published by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umasha Mishra, The University, Allahabad. Annual Subscription. Rs. 10-0-0.

THE first number of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Journal is a welcome addition to the research periodicals of the country and that the journal should be named after a great master of Sanskrit and Hindu law is an appropriate recognition of what Indian scholarship owes to the labours of the late Ganganatha Jha. One of the articles 'Kalpa or World-Cycle' is of melancholy interest as its author Dr. R. Shama Sastry has since left us. Dr. Belvalkar subjects to scrutiny the persisting allegation about the number of verses in the Bhagavad Gīta in his interesting study and comes to the conclusion that the orthodox version is complete and is the original. Prof. M. Hiriyanna's contribution on Bhāskara's View of Error upholds that sound reputation for scholarship associated with him. Bhāskara is a monist like S'aṁkara and holds that *Brahman* is the sole reality ; but his conception of it is vastly different. He believes that *Brahman* is endowed with infinite potency, which he classes under two heads of *bhogya-śakti* and *bhoktṛ-śakti*. The former manifests itself as an objective world ; and as a consequence of such manifestation, the other aspects of *Brahman* become split up into an indefinite number of parts.

It is this type of Vedānta described as *Brahmapariṇāmavāda* and references are to be found in the Vedānta Sūtras. It maintains that the relation between *Brahma* and the *jīva* or the physical universe is one of identity in difference, and is, therefore, also designated as *Bhīdābhīda-vāda*. It was once largely prevalent in India, and may, broadly speaking be regarded as Hegelian in spirit. S'aṁkara criticised it often and severely and it was mainly owing to his criticism it lost its hold on the Indian minds.

S.S.

KANNADA

Vacanadharmasāra (ವಚನಧರ್ಮಸಾರ) **Mysore University Kannada Granthamāla, 19.**—By M. R. Sreenivasa Murthi, B.A. Published by the University, Mysore. Price Re. 0-12-0.

Vacanadharmasara contains choice selections from Kannada literature by Mr. M. R. Sreenivasa Murthi, a devoted student of Kannada who has succeeded to the Chairmanship of the English-Kannada Dictionary Committee after the lamented demise of Rājasevasākta B. Venkatanaranappa of revered memory. The authorities of the Mysore University deserve to be complimented on their entrusting this work to Mr. Sreenivasa Murthi and in publishing it in the Kannada Granthamāla series. At the present time when the importance of Kannada language in the Kannada Country is being increasingly recognized as a medium of expression and as a vehicle of everyday life and thought that a work which contains the cream of what the Kannada authors thought and felt in centuries gone by would be of great assistance for the development of Kannada itself. The philosophy underlying the preachings of the great Veeraśaiva teachers is found here in a nut-shell. Extracts have been taken from the sayings of Basava, Channabasava, Allamma and Siddarāma for this compilation on the essence of dharma which is devotion, knowledge and realisation combined. No exception should be taken to the selections and to the exposition which has been given in the text. We need not stop to discuss whether Lingadhāraṇa is necessary for salvation and whether without it and *śatstaḷasādhana* man is destined to have birth and death. The vocubulary is good. Good conduct is the substance of life. We congratulate the author on the excellent work which he has produced.

S.S.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

(AN APPEAL)

THE immense services of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sankrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the S'āstras and a *litterateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras he played for many years, the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general, in the University of Madras. He started the Samskrita Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others, and the Journal of Oriental Research in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and himself as the Chief Editor; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is today one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on reseach work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogrum of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganath Jha Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor, and continue the useful work of research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

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The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started from last year. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) have been donated for the purpose. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below.

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